

THE QUINTESSENCE OF HINDUISM

The KEY to
INDIAN CULTURE & PHILOSOPHY

By
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PREFACE

IT is not by mere accident that orthodox Hinduism has been studied in this little book from the orthodox Catholic point of view and that the net result has been a vindication of the meaning of *Catholic Hindu*. The study was undertaken at the special request of the Director for the Propagation of the Faith, New York, and meant for the use of ecclesiastical students in the Major Seminaries of the United States. It had to be produced within three months and in its first draft was submitted for approval as early as December 1946. The Roman Catholic Board of Censors both at Bombay and at New York found it to be perfectly orthodox in its Catholicity and at the same time thoroughly Hindu in its culture.

Dr. A. C. Bouquet of Cambridge in his book on *Hinduism* (Hutchinson's University Library, Vol. 23, 1949) has discovered, in his own way, common ground between Hinduism and Catholicism: "Within Hinduism, as within Catholicism, there is almost incredible variety" (p. 11)! It is realised by all serious students that in both religious traditions there is an endeavour to be "all things to all men" (*I Cor. IX, 22*) Nehru: *Discovery of India*, p. 73); and yet, like most moderns who approach this subject from the modernist point of view, the Cambridge Professor of the History and Comparative Study of Religions is baffled when he strives to understand the essential spirit which makes Hinduism *live and let-live* in the Spirit of

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Without being chosen for this study by the most REV. DR. V. GRACIAS, D. D., M. Agg., first Indian Archbishop of Bombay, and without the support of the REV. FR. A. ESTELLER, S. J., of ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, BOMBAY, this book might never have been seen by me. Its printing is entirely the fruit of the patience and efficiency of MR. C. B. KALAPPA and MR. K. NAGOJI RAO of GEMINI PRINTERS, BOMBAY.

Republic Day,
26th January 1951,
Thakurdwar, Bombay 2. }

Satyānanda
 (*Rev. H. O. Mascarenhas*)

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Universal ” in any sense, i. e., whatever ultimately implies contradiction.”

One cannot really be a “ Catholic ” with a large “ C ” without being a “ catholic ” with a small “ c ”. The quintessence of Hinduism would seem to lie in its being “catholic” with a small “c”, while clinging to an extremely ancient and primordial tradition, which a “ Catholic ” with a large “ C ” should be expected to understand deeply and restore to fullness of meaning.”

Hinduism holds challenging affinities with Catholicism which cannot be ignored. In orthodox Hinduism, only what ultimately implies contradiction can be rejected and is rejected as heterodox, though natural ignorance and perversity constantly do their utmost to stifle the original tradition.

² St. Augustine : *Epis. Retrac.*, 1 : b. I, XIII, 3 : “ That which is called Christianity existed among the ancients and never did not exist from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, at which time the true religion which already existed began to be called Christianity.”

³ Justin : *Apologia* I, 46 : “ Those who live according to the *Logos* are Christians, even though they be accounted ‘atheists’, Such were Socrates and Heraclitus and those like them.”

BRIEF HISTORY OF ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

HINDUISM has no known founder like Buddhism or Zoroastrianism or Islam. It seems to be the relic of a primitive revelation or perhaps of a very ancient intuition and speculation obscured and caricatured in our times almost beyond recognition but never entirely lost.

The extraordinary precision and zealous care with which the primordial tradition at least from the Vedas downwards has come down to our day fills scholars with amazement. The earliest traces of this remarkable tradition from which Hinduism has drawn its life blood can be plausibly shown to confirm the primitive revelation recorded in Genesis. Archaeological excavations in the Indus Valley and the Punjab seem to point to the fifth millennium B. C. as the period when the foundations of the Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean civilization were laid on which in India the Hindu culture was basically reared and of which Hinduism still persists as the most vigorous and conservative specimen.

The pictographic writings of a Proto-Indic civilization which spread over a part of India in the fourth millennium are lately claimed to have been decyphered and checked and discovered to be in homogenous continuity with what goes under the name of orthodox Hinduism six thousand years later.* According to this interpretation which is still

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in a tentative stage, it can be admitted that the unmistakable pictograph of "man", recurs frequently; and in the image and likeness of "man" but in distinctly different style, "God" is figured in ascetic posture, seated above a group of adoring creatures.³

God's name is interpreted as "the One who Is", "the very great One", "the One in Three". God is also "the ever wakeful One" with "fish-eyes" that never close in sleep.

Though God is given a name which in itself means "the One who is Three", in His outward representations He is shown with three eyes, sometimes with three faces, and also with three separate figures recognisable as "Father" "Mother" and "Son". The "Father" has a four-horned crown and a lock of hair, and is generally depicted in a passive attitude. The "Mother" is an Active Spirit, and though a Virgin, is intimately associated with the "Father" and the "Son" in a united life. She is the implacable foe of the enemies of man. She is not approachable except by the pure. In common with the "Father", she destroys man's ignorance, and it is by her grace that man obtains divine vision, for she is eminently "fish-eyed".

³ Yoga in some form or other is common to all religious experience. The earliest evidence of the Science and Art of Yoga can be read in the pictographs of the Indus Valley (c. 3500 B. C.). For a competent modern treatment of Yoga, consult Shri Yogendra : *Yoga, Personal Hygiene*. Bombay, 1940.

The Proto-indic terms for "man", "Superman", "God" are respectively "āl", "per-āl", "per-um-āl" and correspond in modern Indian terminology to "purusa", "mahapurusa", "Purusottama", or again to "Vira", "Mahavira", "Virottama" and metaphysically to "jivatma", "mahatma", "Paramatma".

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misconceived in later times.⁷ By thoroughly dying to himself, a man develops the correct divine outlook and only those with "fish-eyes" attain to union with God in heaven.⁸ Thus far the tentative interpretation by Fr. Heras.

Most of this primordial tradition is also preserved but in a very distorted form in what are officially called the ancient writings (*Purāṇas*). These are ancient in their subject matter but in no way ancient in their present recensions. The textually antique literature has been preserved not in the Puranas but in the Vedas.

The Vedic analogue of the Puranic record seems to have come into India chiefly with the Japhetic peoples (*Āryas*), who found the Hamites (*Drāviḍas*) in possession and in a higher state of civilization, and were practically absorbed by the latter or rather formed with their culture a mutually indebted "Hindu" synthesis. Our present Vedic literature, as a whole, is the outcome of at least a thousand years of this kind of common Indian culture.

⁷ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 36, note 78. New York (Philosophical Library). The Original Tradition is that "The Lord is the only Transmigrator". This teaching is amply supported by earlier traditional texts, e. g. *Rgveda* VIII, 43, 9; X, 72, 9. *Atharva Veda* X 8, 13; *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* III, 7, 23; III, 8, 11; IV, 3, 37-38; *Svetasvatara Upanisad* II, 16; IV, 11; *Mundaka Upanisad* V, 2 etc. Cf. specially Sankarācārya on *Brahma Sutra* I, 1, 5. *Satyam nesvarad anyah samsari*: "In truth there is no other transmigrator but the Lord". This doctrine is found also in Buddhist tradition, according to which the term "Buddha" replaces the Hindu term "Isvarah" without change of essential meaning. Sankara's doctrine has been completely submerged and almost lost in modern times.

⁸ H. Heras, S. J. Min-Kan. *The Mystical Meaning of Possessing "Fish Eyes"*. Bombay, 1947.

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things were made; and the "Word" (*Vāc*) is exalted as the queen of all creation and as the One who, from the summit of the universe, makes known the "Father" to all men.

What appears as the Supreme God is addressed in some outstanding texts as our Heavenly Father, who is the First Cause of all and Lord of all.¹⁰ He is said to encompass the whole universe with His eternal law. Nothing can escape His vigilant gaze. He is the Divine Friend of man, but man by sin has incurred His anger.

The Primordial Being, exalted by some as God, not only transcends the universe but is immanent in it as well. At creation He offered Himself as a Divine Model for man in an allegorical immolation of complete selfsacrifice to set the norm by which all sacrifices may thereafter be ordained and regulated.

This succinctly is the first part of the "Divine Knowledge" which the orthodox Hindu has to hear and accept at initiation into the Hindu tradition. The deeper

¹⁰ There seems to be a rooted prejudice in certain circles against the use of the accurate terms "Cause" and "Creator". Apart from the highly metaphysical terms employed in the "Creation Hymn" (*Rgveda* X, 129), which ought to satisfy the most exacting standards we have, in the *Svetāsvatara Upanisad* VI, 9, the term "Cause" in its rigorous sense of the "Ultimate Cause" applied to the Supreme Being:—*Sa kāraṇam kāraṇādhipādhipo na cāsyā Kāscij-janitā na cādhipah.*

"He is the Cause, the Lord of all the lords of the sense-organs. Of Him there is no progenitor nor Lord". There is no reason to think that God as the First Cause of all is unknown to the Hindu tradition. A special discussion on the validity of the term "Creation" will be found in Part II of this study.

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tolerates no reality, however significant or insignificant, which cannot be reduced in principle to the Infinite.¹² Ramanuja (XII century) admits the transcendence of the Infinite, but sees its immanence in the finite. He conceives the Infinite in terms of the Ultimate Universal to which every particular reality bears an internal, immanent and eternal relation, as internal, immanent and eternal as the intimate relation which the living body bears to its inhabiting spirit.¹⁴

Madhva (XII century), seeing the irreconcilable gulf between the finite and the Infinite, rejects Sankara's attempt to reduce the finite to the Infinite even in absolute principle if thereby the finite loses its very entity and, on the other hand, affirms against Ramanuja the absolute transcendence of the Infinite over the finite so that there can be no question of immanent identity.¹⁵

Nimbarka (XII century) continues to explore the immanence of the Infinite in the finite, which had troubled both Ramanuja and Madhva, and discovers a real distinction between the finite and the Infinite without compromising the principal identity of the finite and the Infinite.¹⁶

¹² Tibaut: *Sankara's Commentary on the Vedanta Sutras*. (Sacred Books of the East, vols. XXXIV and XXXVIII), Oxford, 1895-97. P. Deussen and Narasimham: *The Vedantic Absolute and the Vedantic Good*, "Mind", Nos. 82 and 93.

¹⁴ V. S. Sukhtankar: *Teachings of the Vedanta according to Ramanuja*. Wein, 1908.

Tibaut: *Ramanuja's Commentary on the Vedanta Sutras*. (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLVIII) 'Oxford' 1901.

¹⁵ H. N. Raghavondrachar: *The Dvaita Philosophy and its place in the Vedanta*. (University of Mysore Publications, No. 1), Mysore, 1941.

¹⁶ Dasgupta: *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. III. pp.399-444. Cambridge, 1932.

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teachings of saints and heroes of old, contained in the Puranas and specially in two extensive cyclopedias of folklore in verse, known as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, both of which tell of ancient (partly Pre-Buddhistic) times.

God is believed to have come down on earth often to help man. Two occasions are described at great length, one in the *Rāmāyana* when God comes as Rāma, the beau-ideal of a warrior prince, and the other in the *Mahābhārata* where specially in a celebrated section, called the *Bhagavad Gītā*, God is the central figure as Krishna, a warrior king, who is made to expound the orthodox doctrine and defend the cause of righteousness.

In the *Bhagavad Gītā* which thousands in India know by heart and make a practice of reciting and meditating on periodically, "God incarnate" is popularly explained as guiding a war-chariot (a common device) in which "man" is brought to the battle-field of life.¹⁹ "Man" who in other respects is a chivalrous fighter is shown as capable of making a fetish of this chivalry and as becoming

¹⁹ Throughout Brahmanical tradition (e. g. *Rgveda* X, 51-6; *Aitareya Aranyaka* II, 3.8; *Kathopanishad* III,) and in Buddhist writing also (e. g. *Milindu Panho* 26-28; *Vissuddhi Magga* 593-594; *Dhammapada* 94), the "chariot" stands for the psycho-physical vehicle in which we live and move. The steeds are the senses; the passenger and apparent owner is the mind; and the charioteer (*rathī*) is the Spirit or real Self, who alone knows the destination of the vehicle.

A similar figure of speech seems to have been employed in the Greek world by Plato (e. g. *Laws* 898, *Phaedrus* 246-256).

There is an excellent edition of the *Bhagavad Gita* with introduction, transliterated texts, commentary and notes by S. Radhakrishnan. (Allen and Unwin, London, 1948).

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and "anthropomorphism" in doctrine, where it exists often enough only in the expression. No Hindu is ever impressed by what outsiders have to denounce about these devices. Some reform movements during the last century and in recent times have attempted to clean up a number of abuses in behaviour and customs. In this respect Hinduism has shown remarkable vitality and from time to time Hindus themselves have subjected Hindu Society to the most scathing criticism with excellent results. None of these movements touch the orthodox position in its essentials. Moreover, we notice by the side of the great orthodox tradition heretical and even grossly atheistic schools from the earliest times; but these never gain the upper hand. What that great tradition is we shall now examine. We shall endeavour to follow the synthesis of thought built up in the Indian conscience by the main currents of Vedantic speculation, leaving aside minor divergences.

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“immanentism” is cut at the root when this line of thought is logically followed up to the exclusion of others.²¹

It is maintained that no finite reality of any kind is possible without being wholly related in principle and identified in principle with the Infinite, which alone can give it entity or meaning, while absolutely transcending it.²²

In terms of mere existence, man enjoys no privilege over other creatures. His distinctiveness arises from participation in a special enlightenment from God, whereby he is enabled to know his relation to the Infinite, not only as a finite creature of an Infinite Creator but as the noblest reflexion of God's power on earth. Elected by God to receive spiritual vision, man can rise by God's grace through all the stages of spiritual life and become heir to all that the Infinite implies in a final union of “Supreme Identity of Cognition” (*Tattinatva, Kaivalyam, Nirvāna*).²³

²¹ Why other lines of thought (like the ones that have generally prevailed in the Modern West, e.g. pure mentalism or crass monism) must be excluded when dealing with metaphysical concepts in the East has been demonstrated at length in Part I.

²² It is hardly necessary to stress again that this is a study of *Higher Hinduism* and so by its very nature a reconstruction which retains only such elements as can be harmonised into a *Philosophia Perennis* of Hinduism. That after all is the proper way and indeed, the traditional path which all the *acāryas* have pursued.

²³ The particulars in which the Supreme spiritual consummation (*Tattinatva*) is conceived vary from school to school, but in these purely mystical matters mere words are soon found to be inadequate. The earnest student will find that what even the Jains mean by *Kaivalyam* can be reconciled with what is understood in Buddhist tradition by *Nirvana* and that both *Kaivalyam* and *Nirvana* have a place in orthodox Hindu speculation, which has been much enriched by both Jain and Buddhist streams of thought.

Indeed Jain and Buddhist speculation seems to have laid the foundation of Indian Philosophical thought Nāgārjuna and Hemacandra are respectively the illustrious pioneers to Sankara and Rāmānuja.

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not I", for the "Divine Knowledge" has made him realise that there is only One First Person and that it is utter blindness on man's part to speak in self-praise or act with self-confidence, dissociated from the Infinite.²⁵

It should be apparent from this profound Hindu doctrine that exhibitionism of any kind in honour of an individual as an individual, or worse still, worked up by an individual on his own behalf in self-importance, is watched with silent contempt by Hindu Society and considered the natural outcome of an abysmal ignorance of things divine.

When first initiated into the sacred doctrine and its responsibilities, the Hindu is taught that God, who is in all creatures, lives in man as his heavenly guide and conscious companion, and that by this divine knowledge man is born again, not of man but of God. His consequent duties are very responsible and very onerous indeed.²⁶

A clear distinction is drawn between the soul and God in man, and the limits of human nature are marked off from those of personality in man. The relation of

²⁵ What the dissociation should mean is clearly again the subject of heated controversy, all of which is valuable in being productive of exquisite metaphysical elucidations.

²⁶ The exact meaning of consciously realising that man is born of God, and is indeed, the intelligent temple of the Living God is highly controverted. It is refreshing to find, however, that the common people rise above these scholastic controversies and take for granted, quite simply and frankly, this fundamental *dogma* of Hindu tradition by greeting each other with a reverential bow and with palms joined and raised to the head devoutly in worship! *Namaskāra*m (worship) is understood throughout India as applicable and due to the Divine Spirit, living, particularly, in man.

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of aspects (Being-Knowledge-Bliss) constituted in the highest personal Self-hood.²⁵

This knowledge cannot be acquired by human effort the vast majority say. It is imparted by God Himself to His elect. Only the strong and earnest can enter into that Kingdom and maintain their poise. Neither sun nor moon shines there, the Supreme Being alone being the Light of that World where all else shines by a reflected light. It is by His peerless Light that everything here below also is lighted up. For fear of Him, the winds blow and the sun shines and death itself goes limping about.

The whole universe is built on the bedrock of God's eternal Truth and runs according to His eternal Law. That eternal Law is participated in nature as the natural law and provides for each creature the immediate norm of conduct and duties in this world.

Sin is a violation of the natural law and therefore necessarily a violation of the eternal Law. When man rebels against God, he is really rebelling against the most fundamental Law of his own being. When there is a general violation of the natural law, then God Himself is believed to come to man's help.

²⁵ "When the Enjoyer (*Bhoktā*) the Object and the Actuating Agent (*Preritāram*) is declared. That is the Supreme Truth. *Upanisad* I, 1. The preceding verse says: 'The Supreme is to be known by established means. There is nothing to be known there is not.' *Upanisad* I, 12.

ent (*Bhogyam*)
eryt' is
vel'

"Eta
Nātal
Bhokt
Sarva

ātmasa
hi kiñ
m ca
Bra

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In no other religious quest, do we find such downright statements about the soul and her intimate relation to God. An enormous spiritual literature in the modern Indian languages has grown around the theological doctrines of the various schools, and even the simple folk have their unlettered saints and sages. The main doctrine of God living in man's heart is maintained stolidly by the crudest people who appear to the eye of the foreigner to be God-forsaken and degraded below human level. That indeed is the achievement of Hinduism and seems to be the kernel of the primordial tradition so tenaciously preserved down the ages. It gives the Hindu a self-respect and strength of spirit which no one can snatch away from him except by taking advantage of his ignorance of the Hindu tradition. It is the precious jewel of his soul and allows the Hindu the widest possible variety of external appearance and personal adjustment, even if at times he *appears* most misguided and mistaken.

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but with proper enrichment in the Catholic sense can be made to express the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Most Real and Most Blessed Trinity.³⁰

For the presentation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, we are on terribly ~~boggy~~ ^{SURE} ground in Hinduism. The terminology of the Bhagavad Gītā is the best available in this matter, but would have to be standardised in a Catholic sense to be of any use.

It is often asserted that the Hindu experiences an insurmountable difficulty in admitting the uniqueness and singularity of the Hypostatic Union. The Hindu idea is that what is possible for One Man without intrinsic contra-

³⁰ E. J. H. Mackay displays an interesting pictograph under Sign No. 2 in his "*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*", Delhi, 1938. Taken in correlation with exhibit No. 209 in Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, London 1931, Sign No. 2 reads "One who is Three" or "One in Three", and exhibit No. 209 reads "The joined life of the United Three Great Gods". Cf. H. Heras, S. J. : *The Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, "Journal of the University of Bombay", Vol. V Part I, July 1936, p. 16.

In the tradition living vigorously in Hinduism to-day, God is still "One in Three" *ad intra* as *Sac-cid-ānanda* (Being-Knowledge-Bliss) and "indivisibly" so (*A-khaṇḍa*); God is also "One in Three" *ad extra*, as the One-Infinite-Reality (*Brahman*) in the following two ways : (i) Creator (*Brahmā*), Preserver (*Viṣṇu*), Transformer (*Śiva*), represented conjointly as three faces joined to One Body (*Tri-mūrti*); (ii) "Mahādeva", "Mahādevi", "Kārttikeya-Gaṇeśa" represented in the Śākta undercurrent in Hinduism by passive Śiva (father-*An*), the Active *Ambā* (Mother-*Ammā*) and the liberating *Kārttikeya-Gaṇeśa* (Son-*An-il*) born asexually, in every person by the "Virgin" (*Kanya-Kumārī*) Power of God (*Śakti : Omnipotentia Divina*). The homogenous continuity is astounding.

J. Bayart, S. J., has discussed the triple aspects of the Godhead in Hinduism, e.g. *Trimūrti* and *Saccidānanda* in his excellent study, *Le Triple Visage du Divin dans l'Hindouisme*. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Louvain, March 1933. The "mythology" of the Śākta cult symbolises the functions of the Godhead *ad extra* with special reference to the work of the Holy Spirit.

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previously to be elucidated with great care; and then the distinction between human individual nature (*jīrātma-caitanya*) and Divine Nature (*Paramātmā-svarūpa*) has to be emphatically marked and further stressed by specifying the identity of the latter Personality in Christ with the Second Person (*Paramacidātmā*) of the Blessed Trinity (*Parama-Saccidānandam*). Here the "*Hiraṇya-garbhā*" and "*Vāc*" of the Vedic hymns and the "*Bhogyam*" and "*Cit*" of the Upanisads are of exceptional value in clearing the air and establishing harmonious relations without compromise in Christian doctrine.²²

For modern Hindus, who happen to have read the Christian scriptures as literature, the whole issue remains confused by modernist exegeses of the Gospels and by theosophical interpretations of difficult texts, specially concerning the sense of the Biblical term "sons of God". An ingenious Vedāntic explanation suggests itself naturally to the more orthodox among them; but the Vedānta is a double-edged sword and, if clumsily handled, will cut both ways. In the hands of specially trained theologians, the Vedānta is a wonderful instrument (*sādhana*) and can be made to lead straight to the feet of Christ.²³

The doctrines of grace and predestination have their counterparts also in Hinduism and are often the subject of protracted theological controversies. It may be interesting

²² An excellent exposition of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation in Indian philosophical terminology, will be found in Swami Upadhyaya Brahmabandhava's statement reported by Brahmācari Anirūpānanda in *The Light of the East*, Series No. 34: *Whom should we love*, pp. 9-10, Ranchi, 1940.

²³ Pierre-Johannès, S. J.: *Vers le Christ par le Vedānta*, Vols. I and II, Louvain, 1932-1933.

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The problem of evil has been given a moral solution in the doctrine of karma in which suffering is regarded as retributive as well as educative and a blessing in disguise; and in metaphysics, there is an interesting solution wherein evil is identified not with what is merely "negative" in a relative sense but with "absolute nothing" (*atyantâbhâva*).

Rewards in "heaven" and punishments in "hell" are both regarded as the fruit of selfishness, and therefore in no way to be confounded with real Heaven and real Hell but possibly with aspects of Purgatory. The traditional doctrine maintains that a man should rise above rewards and punishments by perfect detachment and work out his salvation with a single eye, doing his duties in life selflessly and, even (in the *bhakti* trends), out of pure love of God.

The Hindu is primarily concerned with the invisible things of God, however much he may seem to be completely engrossed with the business of this world. He has been given a technique in the *Bhagavad Gītâ* by which he can do the one without losing sight of the other. The mystical paths of the *via purgativa* (*karma-mârگا*), the *via illuminativa* (*jñâna-mârگا*), and the *via unitiva* (*bhakti-mârگا*) have an irresistible attraction for him.

Since the Hindu knows that God is living in him as his Highest-Self, even though he may not interpret this always in the same way, if you approach him properly, he will always listen to matters concerning God with the utmost reverence, but without turning the least bit from his own ritual or his own external forms of worship. On

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HINDUISM AS A SOCIAL FORCE .

WHEN considering Hinduism as a social force, we must be clear to ourselves that the social aspect is, after all, in its actual individual forms a very secondary, manifestly exterior, and altogether contingent one. Here Hinduism can evidently afford to make the most generous concessions, and often does make them, because it is sure of its own deeper universal metaphysics, which no sociological issue can touch.

Time and again the strangest peoples and the most formidable ideologies have spent their fury on the bulwark of Hinduism. Yet India has been able, because of her Hindu tradition, to understand them all and find a place for them all in her ample motherly bosom. Centuries later, there is not one of her children whom we find India has not marked recognisably as her own child.

This happened to the early Āryas, the Japhetic peoples who brought with them a language and a metaphysical tradition that in India developed into the Sanskrit language and the Hindu tradition. Semitic influence and tradition have come in with Christianity and Islam, and a great synthesis of Indian Culture is in the throes of formation in our own times. It seems as if in metaphysics the most ancient and fundamental Hamitic foundations will be strengthened, the language will be predominantly Japhetic, and the religion (while being Semitic in its uncompromising attitude towards ignorant aberrations from God) will be universal or Catholic in the fullest and best sense of that word. All

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religion for all men, that, namely, which is constituted and defined by man's relation to the Infinite. To speak of religions in the plural is to the orthodox Hindu one of those popular modern absurdities which unthinking people indulge in. The most specious form of this absurdity is, as a matter of fact, current among modern Hindu politicians, who want political power at any cost. They have found the slogan, "All religions are the same", doing excellent service in the West for bringing Protestant sects of various denominations on a common platform; and, finding that in India the religious sentiments of the people are being exploited in a political game, all Western educated Hindus have begun to adopt the slogan in order to eliminate religion from politics.

The orthodox Hindu doctrine, we repeat, is that there cannot be but one and only one Religion for all men, and that each person is free to choose and adopt whatever style or manner of approach to the Infinite he finds is best suited to his temperament and natural disposition. No conformity is demanded or required in externals. Religion is held to be inalienably and essentially a personal relation in the highest sense between man and God, and therefore objectively one and the same for all men.³⁵

From what has been said above, the "caste system" will at once be seen to belong by its essential nature to the exterior and unessential side of Hinduism and in no way

³⁵ The uniformity required by the *social* aspect of Religion is not alien to the Hindu mind, though here we must distinguish between the importance of substantial realities and accidental modes.

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The excesses and abuses of this system are too well known and regretted by the Hindus themselves to need special comment.³⁸ We have seen above that the Hindu tradition is very strong in its condemnation of selfishness as the great world-evil and that the doctrine among the orthodox is explicitly emphatic about all men being tainted at birth with karmic selfishness which divorces them from God and perverts their outlook on everything in God's universe. The consequence is that logically and in principle all men at birth should be considered contemptible (*sudras*) in God's sight.³⁹ Unless they go through a process of regeneration by which they are spiritually reborn as members of God's sacred family, they forever remain contemptible in God's sight and should on no account be admitted to communion with the elect born of God.⁴⁰

The severest penalty on a person who in the eyes of the elect has by his conduct made himself contemptible in God's sight is excommunication. The severity of this

³⁸ In fact, not all will grant that the prevailing system of caste which is based at present *only* on birth, is in itself an abuse. The Hindu Mahasabha had to resolve as follows:—"Whereas the caste system based on birth as at present existing is manifestly contrary to universal truth and morals: whereas it is the very antithesis of the fundamental spirit of the Hindu religion: whereas it flouts all the elementary rights of human equality.....this all-India Hindu Mahasabha declares its uncompromising opposition to the system and calls upon the Hindu society to put a speedy end to it". (S. Radhakrishnan: *Religion and Society*. London 1947. p. 133).

³⁹ A popular *smṛti* text says: *janmanā jāyate sudrah samskārair devīa ucyate*: "Man is by birth contemptible and is pronounced to be spiritually reborn only by reason of religious rites". (S. Radhakrishnan: *Religion and Society*. London 1947. p. 129).

⁴⁰ The only flaw is that regeneration in social practice is the exclusive privilege of members of certain castes by birth alone. The Indian Constitution has made all men equal before the law, thus vindicating the renaissance of the true Indian Spirit.

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its own continuous vitality in society, assume the body of a social institution and even be helped by faith in matters directly or indirectly leading to the Infinite. This is clearly a secondary and accidental form of religion; and in this accidental form, religion may admit any number of helpful aids, which have however all to be shed when they have served their purpose: for primarily and essentially, Religion for the Hindu is constituted and defined by man's relation to God and to God alone. No one can intervene between man and God, *except of course God himself or God's Real Representative.*⁴²

From this point of vantage, the Hindu can assimilate for his own development all the external devices or missiological machinery that may strive to annihilate his culture of the spirit. He will always be found to listen patiently, keenly and gratefully to whatever *anybody* who comes to him in the name of God may have to say to him. To the Hindu mind, all things are but chaff and dust (*mâyâ*), if they are not subordinated as means to this one great end namely, God-*mere* helps along the way, "idols" or rather symbols like any others, supports for meditation, and aids for communion with the Infinite.

⁴² The concept of the "Body-Mystic" aspect of religion is to a certain extent integral to Hindu tradition and cannot be neglected, man himself being essentially a part of humanity (*Purusa-Sûkta*). It is expressed also in the organic conception of society as laid down in the *Manusmṛiti*.

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“religious persons”, despite their strict discipline and close organisation, can at any rate always be avoided. They must be victims of abysmal ignorance, immense conceit and colossal selfishness, notwithstanding their solemn initiation (*dīkṣā*) and nominal renunciation of the world (*tyāga*). On no account will he give them that high place in his esteem which he would, were they truly and selflessly above the methods and securities of this world. Nor will he be fool enough to take them for his religious guides or delude himself in their manner by adopting their compromise with the world, as a path that can lead to salvation.

The first step, therefore, in accommodation to the Hindu mind has to be genuine selfless holiness of life and complete disinterestedness of motives. In all the large cities and most of the villages, the pitch has been badly quered by unintelligent emphasis on the wrong things and by blatant Europeanism. India has a very high standard for the professed religious man (*samnyâsin*). The difficulties in the path of the bridge-builders between the East and the West appear to be almost insurmountable; but, if we live up truly to the supernatural essence of Christ's Gospel, they will at once be resolved.

To be of spiritual service to India (and the world), let every Christian be taught to crucify his selfishness on the cross of his Christianity and let him (if he does not merely bear a label) identify himself with Christ in the spirit of St. Paul: “*With Christ I hang upon the cross and yet I am alive; or rather, not I; it is Christ that lives in me*”. (*Gal. II, 20*).

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the proper thing for Catholicism to acknowledge Christ in India as God Incarnate (*Narahari*) and the True God-Man in purely Oriental style, with every circumstance of Asiatic splendour and every possible concession to Hindu tradition.¹³

What distinguishes the "Hindu" from the mere "Indian" is that the Hindu is the only child of Mother India who never disowns his parent. Whenever justice has been done to India by anyone, the true children of Mother India have always remembered it with silent gratitude, for silence with them is the mark of genuine sincerity, more eloquent than words. Their present fear is that, if the modern European interpretation of Christ becomes predominant, there will be no one left to keep and guard the sacred Hindu tradition and perpetuate their ancient heritage, and India will lose her soul. It is here that the Catholic Church can step in as a saviour, for she knows what to save and how to save it. *But for this Indian Mission, the Catholic missionary must be Catholic enough to be a Hindu in India.* If Religion for the Hindu is essentially the same as Religion for the Catholic, then it is entirely a question of tactful assimilation after careful

¹³ There is a good deal of misunderstanding abroad about the exact meaning of *dogma* in Catholic tradition. The word *dogma* is cognate to the word *doctrine* and means *defined truth* which is necessarily related in some way or other to Absolute Truth. Ultimately, therefore, no defined dogma can imply contradiction; and hence, defined truth of this kind can always be rigorously reconciled with every other *true* doctrine, since such doctrine can in no way imply contradiction. In other words, one truth can always be reconciled with another truth in terms of the Absolute Truth. Whatever is absolutely untenable in theology, necessarily, therefore implies contradiction in metaphysics. Every "heresy" in theology or "error" in doctrine can be demonstrated to be either a metaphysical absurdity or a half-truth which does not do justice to the full range of metaphysical possibility.

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lity about the Roman liturgy which could be easily substituted by something appropriate in Sanskrit (or Arabic). Popular devotions would go down enthusiastically in the modern Indian languages; and for special occasions and extraordinary functions, solemnity sustained by approved compositions in Sanskrit, Arabic, or Latin, according to taste, would convey the Universality of the Church in appropriate terms. Other items of accommodation to Indian conditions do not call for comment as they are obvious to the discerning eye and seen to be inevitable.

Catholic seminaries, schools, and colleges are the places where young minds should be trained to be *genuinely Catholic*, by truly representing in themselves the best that there is in the world, all in terms of the universality of Christ, *beginning with the best that there is at home*. The Catholic Indian is expected by the Church to be an embodiment of the Spirit of Christ. He must stand forth before God and man as the heir and representative of the best that India can produce by God's grace not only in the eyes of the Catholic world but in the estimation of his own countrymen as well. The Church has achieved this with remarkable success in China; it is now India's turn. The Catholic Indian has to come into his own."

" Alfons Vath, S. J. ; *Im Kampfe mit der Zeulercult des Hinduismus*. Berlin and Bonn, 1928.

The tragic story of Swāmi Upādhyāya Brahmabandhava, one of India's most illustrious converts to Catholicism, is the subject-matter of Fr. Vath's study. It is admitted in Catholic missionary circles to-day that "there is probably not one of the modern attempts to adapt Catholicism to Hindu thought and requirements that is not in some way or other, inspired or encouraged by the example of Upādhyāya Brahmabandhava" (See G. Dandoy, S. J. in "*The Light of the East*", September, 1928, p. 5. See also B. Anandachari: *The Blade. Life and Work of Brahmabandhar*, Calcutta, 1930.

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God's free choice may have intervened. His ancient tradition finds a marvellous fulfilment in Christ; but, for that very reason, how can he be expected to make a clean sweep of what has fed his spiritual life and preserved him through the ages?

The Hindu has learnt to glory in the divine significance of Christ; now he has to discover that Christ does not destroy but divinely "fulfills" and transforms all true human values that pertain to the heritage of man. When we have realised this as Catholics, the Hindu will grow into the full reality of the Truth of Christ.

Should not Catholic Missiology recognise the true value of what is so profoundly and naturally Christian in Hinduism? Or should we forever in India narrow down Christ's Gospel by continuing to make it a distinctively European, or at best an *imitation-European*, monopoly? A Catholic missiologist who knows his India has written: "*India needs the Universal Church, but is it not also true that the Church needs India to progress further and further in the human understanding and expression of her own Truth?*"

This introductory chapter will perhaps not be entirely valueless, if it succeeds in elucidating the meaning of the name *Catholic* and in throwing out a hint at the understanding and co-operation possible under the aegis of the Catholic Church.

¹⁵ Michael Ledrus, S. J.: *The Eternal Brahmanhood*. "The New Review", Vol. II. Calcutta, 1935, pp. 72-78.

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emphasis: "I shall know even as I am known" (*epignōsomai kathōs kai epegnōsthēn*, i.e. "*cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum*").

Since the Infinite is the Ultimate Principle of all reality and excludes only *absolute nothing*, it is clear there cannot be two Infinites. Suppose for argument's sake we put up two; each must exclude the other to be numerically two. But what is Infinite in the Hindu sense of *Anantam*, defined above, excludes only *absolute nothing*. Therefore the Infinite, in that sense, can be only One. And it has to be One with a singularity that is unique, for the very good reason that there can be no second like it. In the *Chândogya Upaniṣad* VI, 2, the explicit doctrine is that the Infinite is "One only, without a second" :

Ekam evādvitīyam.

The orthodox Hindu doctrine recorded in the *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* VI, II maintains that the Infinite-Reality is the One God (*Eko devaḥ*), hidden within all creatures (*sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ*), all-embracing (*sarva-vyâpī*), the Inner-Self of all beings (*sarva-bhūtāntarātmā*), the Watcher and Judge of all our works (*karmādhyaḥṣaḥ*), the Lord dwelling in all beings (*sarva-bhūtādhipāsaḥ*), the Divine-Witness (*Sākṣi*), the Divine-Knower (*Cetā*), the only One free from limitations (*Kevalo-nirguṇaśca*).

*eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ
sarvavyâpī sarvabhūtāntarātmā
karmādhyaḥṣaḥ sarvabhūtādhipāsaḥ*

sākṣi cetā kevalo nirguṇaśca *Svet. Up. VI, II.*

If these are not the characteristics of an Infinite Personal God, then words have no meaning. The God-head, itself, is necessarily *Supra*-personal, not *im*-personal.

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by proving that the right answer is "four" in the statement "two plus two equals four", ($2 + 2 = 4$). If at this stage some positivist proposes another statement, "two plus two equals six", ($2 + 2 = 6$), *metaphysically* considered there would be no difference essentially between our estimate of the first wrong statement and this second wrong statement. There is *absolute nothing* at the basis of both. But in mathematics, the second statement is not only incorrect, like the first, but in a special sense more incorrect, namely, in the sense that it is further removed from the right answer. This is an important point.

On a lower plane than the metaphysical, say in the sciences, physical or moral, we can and should speak of degrees of rightness and wrongness. On the highest plane, the only reality to be reckoned with is the Reality of all reality (*Satyasa Satyam*), which is Infinite (*Anantam*). Whatever is not sustained in principle (*tātvataḥ*) by the Infinite is clearly "absolute nothing" (*atyantābhāva*). "Absolute nothing" and "Infinity", in Hindu doctrine, are dipolar (*pratīyogi*); but the dipolarity is only nominal, since the connotation of "absolute nothing" in no way compromises the Infinite by lowering it from the plane of Absolute Reality to that of relative reality.

While we are on this point, we might as well show the distinction between Infinity, as we have described it with the help of Hindu doctrine, and "infinity" as we find it in some Western sources. In the realm of modern science, the professional scientist finds himself often using the term "infinite", when what he is handling is in no

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Such a “*previous nothing*” is not “*absolute nothing*”, since it implies no contradiction in terms and connotes a distinct *possibility*. After the jar has been finished to perfection, the “*previous nothing*” of what was *possible* as a jar is metaphysically reconsidered with reference to the actually-existing jar, which is regarded as having filled the place of that *particular possibility* or “*previous nothing*”. That “*previous nothing*”, or *particular possibility*, has obviously ended by being actually realised in the form of a particular finished jar, though as “*previous nothing*” it was a *possibility*, which had a “*beginningless*” beginning from all eternity. In other words, its *particular possibility* from all eternity has now been realised in actual existence by the action of the potter on the clay.

Evidently the *fullest* and *utmost possibilities* contained in “*previous nothing*” in general can be limited only by whatever implies a contradiction in terms, that is, only by “*absolute nothing*”. In Hindu phraseology, *prag-abhâra* (*previous nothing*) is circumscribed only by *atyantābhâra* (*absolute nothing*). Given the transcendental powers of the Infinite, *pragabhâra* is at once seen to be rich not only in secondary possibilities, like that of yielding place to a jar made out of existing clay by a potter of limited powers, but in *primary or utmost possibilities*, like that of yielding place to the *actual existence of clay itself*.

The *elemental existence* of clay, considered as a primary actuality, must have taken the place of a primary possibility (or particular “*previous nothing*”), rich in all the non-contradictory reality of possible clay. *Possible* clay, contemplated as a feasibility from all eternity, could

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becomes not only a reality amenable to theological treatment but a reality in metaphysics, appropriate and necessary as the only course of self-manifestation (*sva-prakāśatvam*) open "in the beginning" (*agre*) to the Infinite.

Without the Infinite, there can be no existing matter, not even existing from all eternity, for the Infinite excludes only *absolute nothing*, and therefore all existing matter depends *in principle* on the Infinite and has to be created out of "previous nothing". The Infinite alone is sufficient unto itself by metaphysical necessity; and since it excludes only absolute nothing, it is the primary and ultimate principle of all reality, manifest and non-manifest, actual and possible, whether *existing-in-fact* or merely *capable-of-existing*, i. e., purely *principal*.

What do we mean by the term "*principal*"? I must, I am afraid, explain myself at some length, otherwise there is a likelihood of being misunderstood. When I say "*principal*", I intend to convey what is understood in European scholastic terminology by "*tamquam in principal*", and in Hindu scholastic idiom in some contexts by "*latvatah*". I might perhaps be able to explain myself better if I am allowed to illustrate my meaning by a simple example from elementary mathematics.

Let us take any general formula or "universal" identity in algebra, for instance. Such a general formula excludes other general formulae and is to that extent necessarily limited; but it is *indefinitely* rich in its own way. On it, namely, may be based any number of particular applications. These particular applications, each distinct from the others, are all distinguished from the original formula

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This ultimate principial relation is not only essential and necessary on the part of the limited realities, which owe their very entity to it, but has to be recognised by the metaphysician as an eternal and inalienable relation. Here we appreciate the position of Râmânuja in his interpretation of the *relation* between the finite and the Infinite (which is the subject matter of the Vedânta) as Viśistâdvaita. It is an interpretation in which the absolute transcendence of the Infinite is maintained, while fully recognising the eternal relation which constitutes the principial bond between the limited, "special", and "qualified" reality of the finite on the one hand and the Infinite-Reality of the Supreme Principle on the other, notwithstanding its independence, illimitedness, and transcendent universality.

Râmânuja's position is admitted in Hindu tradition as perfectly orthodox, but not as ultimate. One has to rise beyond it to a final consideration in which, while allowing the lesser reality and eternal dependence of the universe of contingent manifestation, the Infinite alone is recognised by Supreme Identity of Cognition to be the Absolute Reality, necessary and transcendent, in regard to which the entire universe of manifestation, if considered independently, is rigorously null. Taken dependently, the universe of manifestation because of its intrinsic limitation and this very entitative *dependence* can never stand comparison metaphysically with the Infinitude of the Supreme Principle, which holds all actual and possible manifestations *principially*. All creation entirely serves its purpose in the quality of "support" (*pratika*) for contemplation

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every particular manifestation, uniting the particulars among themselves to their common universal and, through the latter, uniting them to their Ultimate Principle, the Infinite. What kind of *ultimate unity* is this, uniting the many particulars to the one Infinite? Have we here again the old philosophical dilemma of the one and the many? The unity which the discriminating Hindu mind recognises as necessary and internal is the *unity of principle*. What is limited (*santam*) cannot be simply identified with what is illimited (*anantam*). The identification has to be sought and is to be admitted only "in principle", *tattvataḥ*, in the sense explained above. Then, indeed, the seer truly sees and may be hailed a seer of the limitations of things, specially on the one hand the limitations of any finite "reality" (which is seen to be sustained principally and at the same time transcended absolutely by the Infinite) and, on the other hand, the limitations of "absolute nothing". The *Bhagavad Gītā* calls such a seer "a seer of reality or (in the sense defined above) of principles" (*tattva-darśin*). If, and as far as, "unreality" or "absolute nothing" is technically named "non-being" (*a-sat*), and "reality" is likewise technically named "being" (*sat*), then the traditional Hindu teaching is that the one cannot spring from the other: "The unreal hath no being, the real never ceaseth to be. The limitations of both have been seen by the seers of first-principles." *Bhagavad Gītā* II, 16.

*nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ
ubhayaḥ api dr̥ṣṭo'nas-tvanayos-tattvadarībhīḥ*

Together with this śloka, another śloka is generally taken to be relevant. In *Bhagavad Gītā* XIII, 12, the

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to be the Infinite and not this which the common people worship".

*yan-manasā na manute yenāhur mano matam
tad-eva Brahma tvaṁ viddhi nedam yadidam upāsate.*

Kena Up. I, 5.

When speaking of the Infinite, we must do so by rising above the evidence of our senses (*pratyakṣa pramāṇa*) with the aid of the pure intelligence (*buddhi*). The knowledge of individual particulars enables us to rise above them to the *analogical contemplation and cognition* (*dhiyā lamba*) of the Supreme Universal, which gives them reality and existence.

The other species of *abhāva* need not detain us long. *Pradhvaṁsābhāva* or "subsequent nothing" is the "nothing" that arises when an article in use, for instance, a jar, is broken to pieces. The broken pieces might conceivably be put together again so cleverly that the original shape of the jar is restored to the pieces. This does not affect the doctrine of *pradhvaṁsābhāva* when applied to the non-existence of the original jar, supposing the original jar had been *destroyed*. The repaired jar, in that case, is really not the original jar but a different jar. The "subsequent nothing" of the original jar has its beginning at the moment of the mishap and is conceived as endlessly protracted into the future.

Prāgabhāva, as we studied it, was found to have no beginning but to have an end, when its possibilities were realised as actualities. In this respect, *pradhvaṁsābhāva* is the direct opposite of *prāgabhāva*. It has a beginning and

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Infinity and Nothing. The word *sat* we have already seen means "being", which is principally sustained by the Infinite and at the same time absolutely transcended by the Infinite. Moreover the same word *sat*, correctly understood, can also be analogically used, and is so employed, to designate the Infinite as the Supreme Being. Again, according to the context, the word *sat* may mean "the true" (cf. Old English : *soth*), and in that sense is eminently applied to the Infinite to express in *analogical* language "the Infinitely True". In point of doctrine, in India also. "*esse et rerum commutantur*", one word (i. e. *sat*) indeed serving pregnantly for both notions : "being and truth".

The many consequences of this doctrine would need a special study for themselves. We shall content ourselves by noting that among the Hindus the Supreme Principle is analogically spoken of as *Sat*, *Cit*, *Ānanda* : i. e., "Being", "Knowledge", "Bliss", indivisibly *One* in indivisible identity, and named *Sac-cid-ananda* in one synthetic word. This is the Absolute Reality analogically declared by its single name to be One and Indivisible : *Akhaṇḍa Saccidānandam*. (*Tejobindu Up. III, Mand Up. I*),

In this name, since "Being" and "Knowledge" are united in "Bliss" by absolute identity, all their opposition disappears and we are landed in the transcendent absoluteness of the Godhead which is above and beyond all difference and all identity based on difference. This alone is the Absolute Reality to which every relative and dependent reality in the visible world directly points, if we had only the eyes to see through the analogical veils and enigmas of creation. Sankara has a metaphysical lyric on this theme, of

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rope for a rope but takes the rope seriously for a snake. he is unnerved and scared by the "snake". If his ignorance (*a-vidyâ*) is dispelled by knowledge of the scientific truth of the rope (*vidyâ*), a change at once comes into his attitude towards the "snake". His fear is banished and he recovers his balance, though there is no change in the rope, which continues to be what it always was, namely, a real, useful and harmless rope. We repeat: the rope does not vanish, when the ignorance is dispelled. It is the "snake" that vanishes.

In like manner, so long as a man does not know the real truth of the world, he is shaken and terrified by the appearance of the world's *independent* reality and *absolute* importance, and his whole outlook on life is affected by this fundamental error. But when his ignorance (*a-vidyâ*) about the real nature of the world is dispelled by true knowledge (*para-vidyâ*), he fully realizes that the world, however real and important in its own line, is in no way independent, absolute, or ultimately important, but in every way a dependent, contingent and merely mediant reality, owing all its significance to the Infinite, which alone is the Absolute Reality to be reckoned with (*pâramâthika sattâ*). The world loses its fears for him and is seen in its true perspective to be harmless and even useful in its own way, and can never more, to a knowing-man (*jñânin*), effectively be a source of error or deception.

To take a rope for a snake, we have observed, is the outcome of ignorance (*a-vidyâ*); but a greater blindness is that of the rank materialist or atheist who in his "scientific learning" (*vidyâ*) takes the rope not for a

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about anything necessarily puts us in touch with the Infinite.⁵⁵ For example, in the particular pencil I hold in my hand, I must see not only the universal pencil but the universal Infinite as the pencil's primary and ultimate principle, uniting this pencil principally with the Reality-of-all-reality (*Satyasya Satyam*), and therefore with all particular realities, actual and possible. Then only do I have the whole truth about this pencil. All other truths about it are relative and all other considerations very secondary.

Suppose now I consider the whole absolute truth, in terms of Infinity (*Anantatra*), about my own self. As a thinking subject, I can take stock of that truth and know it so intimately that my whole being is transformed by it. If further I mean to exclude only absolute nothing from my knowledge, by that very fact I remove every hindrance in the way of my attaining to the effective realisation of my principial unity and principial identity-by-cognition with the Infinite. This is the real crux of the question. Can the finite attain to unity and identification-by-cognition with the Infinite? Even in a purely principial sense of merely recognising one's true dependence on the Infinite? It is clear that no concession can be made to the unreality conjured up by a contradiction, like that implied in the finite posing as the Infinite. Both the *Katha* and *Mundaka Upaniṣads* have preserved an exceedingly ancient and interesting lore on the subject. The passage declares unequivocally that without the help of the Infinite, the

⁵⁵ The greatest influence of Indian Culture and Philosophy in the world has been exerted by its contemplative and mystical forms. What is *Dhyāna* in India has become *Ch'an* in China and *Zen* in Japan. See the various studies by T. Suzuki.

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son Śvetaketu in the *Chândogya Upaniṣad* VI, 8, 6, when he said : “Thou art That” (*Tat tvam asi*). And the disciple, having realised the proper import of this identity in the light of the Infinite Principle of his own being, might repeat the same truth to himself by saying : “I am the Infinite-Reality” (*Aham Brahmasmi*) : *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I, 4, 10. This when correctly interpreted in the context of orthodox Hindu tradition according to our exegesis means : “I have realised my principial unity and identity with the Infinite by His divine grace, and consequently my principial unity and identity with each and every entity, actual and possible, sustained by the Infinite. My corresponding responsibility is that I must cherish and love all beings even as the Infinite does, since by cognition I am supremely one with the Infinite”.

The instruction of Yājñavalkya to his wife Maitreyī preserved in the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad* II, 4, 1-5, shows that some at least of the ancient seers of India rightly understood, in terms of the Infinite and in the Infinite alone, their relations to God and to all the creatures of God's Universe. Such indeed is the correct significance (as we have every right to deduce it) of the *wisdom of the East*, which is treasured above the things of this world by the wise men of the East. The formulas are mystical and cannot be lightly understood and should not be lightly

⁵⁴ This Point will always have a double aspect : On one hand, “What did the Seers mean?” and on the other hand, “What ought they to mean according to the demands of metaphysics?” We have tried to give what in the light of metaphysical truth they must have meant, even though it is not possible to be fully certain of what they did actually mean. Every *Ācārya* has exercised this right and thus simultaneously enriched Indian metaphysics.

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In Christian tradition the parting prayer of the Divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to His Eternal Father on our behalf occurs to the mind : " Father, the time has come ; give glory now to Thy Son, that Thy Son may give the glory to Thee. Thou hast put Him in authority over all mankind, to bring eternal life to all those Thou hast entrusted to Him. *Eternal life is knowing Thee, Who art, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent.* I have exalted thy glory on earth, by achieving the task which Thou gavest me to do ; now, Father, do Thou exalt Me at Thy own side, in that glory which I had with Thee before the world began. I have made Thy name known to the men whom Thou hast entrusted to me, chosen out of the world. They belonged to Thee, and have become Mine through Thy gift, and they have kept *true* to Thy word. Now they have learned to recognise all the gifts Thou gavest Me as coming from Thee : I have given them the message which Thou gavest to me. and they, receiving it, recognised it for *truth* that I came from Thee, and found faith to believe that it was Thou Who didst send Me. It is for these I pray ; I am not praying for the world, but for those whom Thou hast entrusted to Me : they belong to Thee, as all I have is Thine, and all Thou hast is Mine : and in them My glory is achieved". *John XVII, 1-10.*

Every Hindu would recognise in the accents of Christ the genuine voice of the true teacher (*sad-guru*) and indeed the world teacher (*jagad-guru*), whose message is its own proof and who has received his disciples from God, picked and chosen out of the world.

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I may be in them. and so they may be perfectly made one. So let the world know that it is Thou Who hast sent Me, and that Thou hast bestowed Thy love upon them, as Thou hast bestowed it upon Me. This, Father, is My desire, that all those whom Thou hast entrusted to Me may be with Me where I am, so as to see My glory, Thy gift to Me, in that love which Thou didst bestow upon Me before the foundation of the world. Father, Thou art just; the world has never acknowledged Thee, but I have acknowledged Thee, and these men have acknowledged that Thou didst send Me. I have revealed, and will reveal, Thy name to them; so that the love Thou hast bestowed upon Me may dwell in them, and I, too, may dwell in them". John XVII, 20-26.

N. B.—Advaita Vedānta could not stress *ultimate unity*, spiritual and psychological, more emphatically than is done in the Divine Doctrine (*Brahma-vidyā*) of Jesus Christ. And yet we have to go further than Advaita Vedānta, if we would understand the Catholic Christian position aright and simultaneously do full justice to the universality of the Hindu tradition itself. Jesus Christ is the Incarnate Word-of-God, eternally knowing His Personal Relation to His Father before the foundation of the world. "Om-Tat-Sat", in Hindu tradition, declares that "the ineffable Word-of-God (*Om*), That Absolutely (*Tat*), is the Supreme Truth (*Sat*)".

If the Absolute-Reality-of-God (*Tat*), gives us a term for the divinely principal relation of the creature to the Creator (*tattvatah*), the Absolute-Truth-of-God (*Sat*) can furnish us with the term for the divinely *essential* relation of the Trinitarian Son to the Trinitarian Father (*sattvatah*).

With the help of *Advaita*, and in the light of the traditional Doctrine of the Divine *Sat-cit-ānanda*, not only the Catholic Hindu but also the orthodox Hindu will see at once that, where man's relation to God is to be expressed in terms of ultimate unity, understood principally (*tattvatah*), the substantially eternal unity of Jesus Christ with his eternal Father is to be understood and expressed both principally (*tattvatah*) as well as essentially (*sattvatah*).

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latest possible moment, there was space sufficient to warn men who had already prepared themselves for flight, by sending their families and cattle to other lands. In spite of the exercise of all my influence, and although the murderers have blood feuds with those who must be privy to their escape, I have not been able to track their footsteps, and have little hope of their apprehension.

Meanwhile, I am occupying the place with Lieutenant Nicholson and my own force, and am preparing to erect a castle, to prevent the return of the fugitives. The detention here of nearly the whole force will be necessary for this purpose.

I trust that, with a garrison here, and a cantonment in the neighbourhood for the Hussan Abdal force, the whole of this disturbed district may be reduced to order. The Mushwains of Srikote clash with Government, chiefly by affording shelter to fugitives from this horde of robbers and assassins. The presence of a garrison in Simulkund can alone break the neck of this brotherhood; and, when they are put down, the Mushwains may become good subjects. Should this hope fail of being realized, it will be easy to assail them, and re-establish the ruined fort at Srikote.

It is an important feature in the character of this people that, however odious the character of any Zemindar, or however much it may tend to their own interest to bring the culprit to retribution, no one, not even those of the kindred, who would themselves slay him wherever found, will betray him to the Government for trial. Hence, in a country so wild and difficult, the apprehension of murderers, and outlaws, becomes almost impossible, for I have refused to sanction the private murder of such malefactors, by setting a reward upon their heads.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, August 14, 1847.

I INCLOSE a report, from Captain James Abbott, of a combined military movement, by that officer and Lieutenant Nicholson, against the robbers of Simulkund, a ridge of the Gundgurl mountain. The attack has failed in its main object, viz., the apprehension of certain murderers, and robbers. But the military occupation of the country, and the erection of a fort commanding it, will be a severe punishment to the offenders, and an example to the neighbourhood. I have told Captain Abbott to beware of leaving so weak a detachment as may, by possibility, be cut off. The troops will remain in the neighbourhood, until the fort is erected, and in all points defensible.

I have called the attention of the Durbar to the negligence of Dhara Sing. The presence of such officers as Captain Abbott and Lieutenant Nicholson will soon improve the discipline, and arrangements, of the troops within their superintendence. The officers are the worst portion of the Sikh army, and, as yet, we have not had time to separate the bad from the good.

Captain Abbott has judiciously agreed to give employment to 200 of Khan Zeman's followers, who, I have desired, may be sent to Dera Ismael Khan, to assist in garrisoning forts in that direction, keeping not above fifty in one place.

The fact of Khan Zeman Khan having gone into Captain Abbott, will do much to pacificate the country; he is, perhaps, the most powerful of many chiefs in that neighbourhood, who would never attend on the Sikh governors. He, however, waited on Mr. Agnew; but, being disappointed at not immediately obtaining all he expected, was inclined to return to his old ways, and, perhaps, would have done so, had it not been distinctly intimated to him, and all, that, though every consideration would be shown to those who submitted, and behaved well, no exertions would be spared to punish offenders against the law.

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form of the customs, as well as the land-tax, all absolutely necessary, will, probably, not involve a sacrifice of less than from 12 to 15 lakhs of rupees. I do not mention these things to raise difficulties, or to give a gloomy view to matters. I can see how much has been done, since last year, in the reform, and reduction, of the army, the payment of their arrears, and the good spirit which pervades many of the influential classes; but I cannot fail also to observe that there are still no ordinary difficulties to be encountered, and overcome.

Mooltan is perfectly quiet, but I think that Dewan Moolraj is losing some of the popularity he hitherto enjoyed, and that he has become more grasping than formerly.

Inclosure 4 in No. 10.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Acting Resident.

Simla, September 3, 1847.

THE Governor-General is not surprised to hear that, although the Maharanee outwardly affects to be well satisfied with her changed position, Her Highness is really impatient of the restraints imposed upon her; and the Governor-General fully concurs with you in the propriety of adopting every proper precaution to guard against the schemes of resistance, and revenge, which a person of her restless spirit and energy may attempt, for the purpose of recovering her lost position, and influence.

With this view, the Governor-General approves of the entire guardianship of Her Highness being made over to a person of the station and character of Sirdar Shere Sing; and his Lordship is also inclined to approve of the resolution of the Council to resume Sirdar Heera Sing's jagheers, granting him a monthly allowance of 1,000 rupees in lieu, and also of their intention to reduce the Maharanee's allowances to 4,000 rupees a month. The stipends thus proposed, for both sister and brother, are ample for every necessary purpose, and for the maintenance of both in dignity and comfort—while, if a larger amount of funds were placed at the disposal of either, it is probable that such would be employed for purposes inimical to the public interests.

The Governor-General entirely concurs with you that a revenue settlement for a term of years—fixed on principles of moderation and equity, and the limitation of all demands on the agriculturist to some specified amount, abolishing all those vexatious cesses, and exactions, which now are permitted to exist, to the great detriment of the State—would prove the measure best calculated to insure the prosperity of the country, and to place it upon some sure foundation.

The Governor-General had, I am desired to state, every reason to be well satisfied with the able manner in which you conducted the arduous duties at Lahore, during the absence of the Resident last year, and his Lordship has the utmost confidence that, on your present deputation, you will not fail to carry on the duty, with the same energy and intelligence.

No. 11.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Simla, September 20, 1847. (No. 65.)

THE Lahore Durbar has issued a proclamation, granting pensions to officers, and soldiers, of the Sikh army, for long service, or who may be disabled by wounds, or sickness; also pensions to the families of those killed in action. I expressed my satisfaction with the above measures.

This dispatch contains a statement of the new system of customs about to be introduced throughout the Lahore territory, which I have no doubt will afford to all the poorer classes the greatest satisfaction, by abolishing, or reducing, duties on several articles of food of the most ordinary and general consumption, and which, by simplifying the collection of the customs and excise, will be a source of great contentment to the whole community of the Punjab.

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frontier lines—one for goods coming from the eastward, to run along the Beas and Sutlej; one on the Indus, for the northern trade; and the third on the north-east frontier, for the commerce of Cashmere.

The general result of the new arrangement, therefore, is that, with the loss of 2,22,292 rupees of revenue, taxes to the amount of 6,62,192 rupees have been abolished, among which were included the chief necessities of life; the whole country has been freed from transit and town duties, and the customs confined to import and export duties; and, therefore, that a clearance on the frontier will now free the trader from annoyance, through the length and breadth of the land. On the proposed arrangements being laid before the Durbar, its members expressed themselves much pleased with the result. They seemed to have expected to lose half the revenue, and were greatly surprised that, with the loss of an eighth, so great a change could be effected.

I have proposed to the Durbar, and they have assented, that the whole of the customs of the country should be placed under the superintendence of Misrs Rulla Ram and Sahib Dyal, father and son, two of the most intelligent, respectable, and influential men in the Punjab. They are to render accounts every fifteen days, one copy direct to the Resident, one to the Durbar; and they are to appoint, and remove, the subordinate officials, and to obey no orders but those countersigned by the Resident.

By the excise on salt, the revenue will be increased one-third, without, it is supposed, raising the price to the consumer. The contractors are to pay six lakhs of revenue, by monthly instalments, to undertake the whole expense of management, and sell the mineral at two rupees per maund to the merchant. The salt duties now yield but four lakhs; and, such is the execrable mode of management that scarce a rupee has, this year, been paid into the treasury, the merchants having received credit for the duty they should have paid in cash.

Finally, I may add that, though the loss of revenue is estimated at 2,22,292 rupees, it may fairly be anticipated that it will not amount to this sum. The stimulus to trade and industry, by the change of system, will, probably, increase trade, and the consumption of dutiable articles.

Under any circumstances, the immediate benefit to the community is great, and the prospects for the future are favorable. Politically, the measure will be as advantageous as the benefits to the country are solid and palpable. The community cannot fail to see that British interference has, already, given the people the inestimable benefits of peace and security. It has subdued, and restrained, the violence of the soldiery, while it has ameliorated their condition. It has not only saved the lives of the aristocracy, but added to their wealth and importance. Its fruits are now to be extended to the merchant, and consumer. We want but a reform of the land-tax to complete the good work, a reform which will, directly, affect the condition of the agriculturist, and, indirectly, every class in the country. This would be an easy and simple task, were the British Government the ruling power; in our present position, it will be a more difficult matter, for we shall have to work with the Durbar officials, over whom our superintendence and control must necessarily be incomplete.

Having once placed affairs on their proper footing, having removed every impost and obnoxious cess, it will then but remain to introduce such rules as will insure the revenue being paid into the public treasury, and its economical expenditure.

It is right that I record in this report, that the reform of the customs was the design of the Resident, who had discussed, and arranged, a considerable portion of the details, previous to my arrival. I have but completed, and carried out, the principles which he originated.

P.S.—The only tax which has been remitted, which appears to admit of a doubt, is that on gamblers, which yields a considerable sum. Those who are in favor of the tax, argue that people will, under any circumstances, gamble, and, by taxing the practice, you limit, and restrain, and bring it under control. I do not concur in this view. Experience has shown me that there is much more gambling where it is taxed, and, therefore, legalized, than where absolutely prohibited. So much danger in the latter case attaches to the practice, that it soon becomes confined to a narrow circle. Gambling is then considered as a misdemeanor, and is punished as such.

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to leave the villagers not only sufficiently well off absolutely, but relatively better off than they have, hitherto, been. In wild, desolate, and thinly peopled tracts a fourth, a fifth, or even a sixth, is, probably, not paid to Government.

I annex a form of statement which I suggest that you circulate to all the izaradars, or farmers, to fill up, and get them, if possible, all in, before you commence operations, in order that the statement may be as correct as possible. In the office of Nazim of Peshawur, you will no doubt find records of the collections of past years, on account of the Government demand, for every village in the country. Your people should prepare a village statement of past receipts, for a series of years. The Kardar's statements, and this return, cannot fail to throw considerable light on the revenue-statistics of the country, and the capability of the villages. You will find the descendants of Canoonzees, and other provincial officers, both capable, and anxious, to give you information, and you will be able, during the ensuing cold weather, to ride about, and judge for yourself, in doubtful cases.

If you find it difficult to prepare your returns by talookas, or local divisions, it can be done, in the first instance, by kardarships. In some instances, you will not be able to obtain returns of arrears; in others, of the proportion of uncultivated and cultivated land, and the like; but you must not, on this account, be disconcerted; the plan is to get as much information as possible, and, when you get little, to make the most of it. In many cases, you will have nothing but the past collections to go by, and these must then suffice.

Under the head of remarks, should be inserted the mode in which the revenue has hitherto been paid, if in kind, by batai or kunkoot;—in cash;—or partly in kind, and partly in money. A detail of all the different cesses under the name of Abwab, should also be noted.

General information should also be collected regarding each tract, the mode in which the revenue has been paid, namely, either through a farmer who contracted for the whole, or by fixed assessments; the facility, or otherwise, with which it was collected, the general condition of its inhabitants, the nature of the soil, the facilities of irrigation, the locality, and peculiar features of the country, the caste of the cultivators, and their habits. When your returns are ready, collect all the influential men, the heads of the villages, and the accountants; in short, encourage as many as possible of the inhabitants to attend. Check the returns of the Kardars by the statements of these people, particularly as to what they have been in the habit of paying. Hear what they may say of their own villages, and of those of each other. Observe their dress, appearance, and bearing. You will quickly perceive if they are over-assessed, and, therefore, ill-fed, ill-clothed, miserable creatures, or a thriving, comfortable population. Lastly, having got all the information in your power, do not hesitate, but, quickly making up your mind, fix your demand, and offer it for their acceptance. It will include, in one sum, everything which, under any pretence, the village can be called on to pay as revenue. As the villages are assessed, give them a putta, stating the exact sum to be paid for the whole year, and the proportion for each harvest, and in each instalment, and make the headmen describe, briefly, in what mode the revenue will be collected. As you secure them from further demands, so also guard the co-partners, and under-tenants, from their extortion. Steadily bind all farmers of even isolated villages; but if, in any particular locality, either from the peculiar influence of an individual, or a family, you find that there is any advantage in so doing, you may make one person responsible for the revenue, provided the people so wish it, giving him a per centage for his trouble.

Record, in the putta, the inam, or perquisites of the headmen, where any exist, and are not extravagant, and detail the amount of rent from land not included in the lease. Where the headmen have no allowances, or rent free lands, give them 5 per cent. on the village collections. In our provinces, this is the sum usually allowed. As you complete your settlements, appoint a Tehsildar for each district, giving him a charge of from 75,000 to 1,50,000 rupees, with reference to the extent of the area, and the poverty, or richness, of the country, and allow him two or three per cent. of the collections, as a remuneration, and give him a small establishment. From among the most intelligent, respectable, and popular of your Izaradars, Canoonzees, Kazees, and similar hereditary officers, who have displayed their zeal and energy in aiding your views, select your Tehsildars.

I propose submitting a copy of this letter for the approval and orders of the

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Inclosure 5 in No. 12.

The Acting Resident to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, September 22, 1847.

I SUBMIT a correspondence with Her Highness the Maharanee, as also the Durbar account of her income and expenditure, since the treaty at Bhyrowal. I have requested that all articles, still in the palace, which belong to the Maharanee, be, at once, sent to Sheikhoopoor, but it appears that Her Highness claims property belonging to the Maharajah, and which, therefore, the Durbar refuse to give up.

The account shows that the Maharanee has received all that she is entitled to; and, to satisfy myself of its correctness, I have requested that an account may be sent to Sheikhoopoor, to explain each item, and receive her comments thereon. I believe that the Maharanee wishes that certain items, such as expenses to the monument of her brother, Sirdar Jowahir Sing, and the like, should be debited to the Government accounts.

I believe that the Maharanee's statement of ill-treatment is utterly incorrect. The night of her removal from the palace to Sheikhoopoor, Her Highness met with every kindness and consideration, and was allowed to take away whatever property was pointed out. Her brother, Heera Sing, was asked to take charge of what was unavoidably left behind, which he refused, when two of the most confidential slave-girls remained for this purpose. I presume that the assertion that Her Highness was dragged out of the palace by the hair, is merely a figure of speech, to explain how unwillingly she left Lahore. None of the political officers of the Residency, of course, saw the Maharanee; and the members of the Durbar were so afraid of her that every individual refused even to be the bearer of the intelligence of her intended removal that night, and it was finally broken to her by her own brother, Sirdar Heera Sing.

The proposal of the Durbar that Sirdar Shere Sing should take charge of the Maharanee, has not been carried out. The Sirdar distinctly refuses to take the responsibility, and, when urged by me for his reasons, stated that, unless he was strict in his surveillance, some misfortune would arise; and if he was so, the Maharanee would be dissatisfied, and complain; that, therefore, as he saw no mode by which he could satisfy her, and, at the same time, do his duty, he begged to decline the charge.

Sirdars Boorh Sing and Goormookh Sing appear to be honest and faithful in the discharge of their duty at Sheikhoopoor, but not to be sufficiently determined, and watchful. I ascertained, a few days ago, that Sahib Sing, a discharged orderly of Raja Lal Sing, was allowed to visit the interior of the apartments at Sheikhoopoor. I requested that this might be prevented for the future, and that Sahib Sing should be warned that, if found again within the precincts of the fort, he would be punished.

On the morning of the 18th instant, while at Durbar, a letter was received from the Sirdars at Sheikhoopoor, informing the Council that the Maharanee had given necklaces to a jemadar and havildar of the guard. I recommended that the whole body should be, at once, relieved, and that it should be explained to the troops that any soldier or officer receiving presents from the Maharanee, or any of her retinue, would render himself liable to a severe penalty. I, further, suggested that the necklaces should be taken from those who had received them, and placed in the public treasury; but that, as it was the first offence, and the army had been formerly in the habit of receiving such articles, no punishment should, in this instance, be inflicted on the recipients of the Maharanee's bounty. Sirdar Shere Sing, calling on me this morning, states that the necklaces had been given up, and were of small pearls, worth about sixty rupees each. It is evident from this circumstance that the Maharanee was attempting to tamper with the guard; and I have no doubt that, so long as she possesses the means, she will continue to act in a similar manner. I think, however, that, with ordinary precautions on the part of the Durbar, all her schemes must prove fruitless. I cannot ascertain that Her Highness has any very zealous partisans, or that her seclusion has caused any public sympathy. The members of the Durbar appear to be very uneasy at the charge, and I think now repent that she was not transported across the Sutlej.

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a Hindoo, was seized on the spot, but there seems no satisfactory explanation of the cause which led to this atrocity. A society of Sadhs (mendicant priests), near Umritsur, quarrelling as to the succession to the chiefship, resisted the Durbar officer sent to put the successful candidate in possession, and turned out, in a body, well armed, and, apparently, determined to resist. Sirdar Lehna Sing expressed, in open Durbar, his opinion of the necessity of coercing these people; and, as I fully concurred in these sentiments, a part of the garrison of Govindghur, with a body of horse, and a gun, were sent against them, under an intelligent officer; the object being, by a display of force, to necessitate instant submission, without recourse to arms. The Sadhs, on seeing the troops ready to act with decision, surrendered at discretion. These two circumstances, and the seizure of Lal Sing,* Adawlutee, a leading character in the Preyma conspiracy, who was found lurking in the vicinity of the banks of the Beas, in the disguise of a fakeer, are the only occurrences worth noticing.

I have received very gratifying proofs how popular the reform of the customs has been. On the new rules being proclaimed, by beat of drum, in Umritsur and Lahore, the heads of trades waited on me to express their satisfaction, and, in Lahore, they illuminated the city for two nights. The Panchayets remarked that, for the last 100 years, nothing had been done which had conferred so much benefit on the poorer classes as this measure; and, on my telling them they should thank the Durbar for it, they laughingly replied, that they owed it all to us.

In my report, I estimated that the loss of revenue would probably be about 2,20,000 rupees, the calculation being founded, in a great measure, on the returns, of former years, on those articles still continuing subject to taxation, with a rough estimate of the return from the new sources of revenue. In two items, we have already effected a saving of 68,000 rupees; the tolls on ferries having been farmed for 1,48,000 rupees, instead of one lakh; and the excise on spirits for 50 instead of 40,000 rupees, subject to all the rules and conditions which prevail in the British Provinces. On the whole, therefore, I anticipate that the loss of revenue, for the current year, will sink down to little more than a lakh, or a lakh-and-a-half of rupees.

During the month, the Durbar have given much attention to an examination of the accounts of defaulters; considerable sums have been paid in by the Kardars, and arrangements made for the realization of still more. Those of Misr Umeer Chund, the cousin of Raja Lal Sing, who farmed the salt mines, and district of Pind Dadun Khan, have been settled. He asserted that nothing was due, and the Moonshees who were charged with the examination of his accounts, corroborated the assertion. By the late scrutiny, which involved the consideration of accounts to the extent of 30 lakhs (300,000*l.*) he, and his subordinates, are proved, on their own returns, to owe the State 2,85,000 rupees. On this adjustment of the accounts, the Misr refusing to make good a large portion of the amount, on the ground that he had received private instructions from Raja Lal Sing, last year, to cast cannon, and entertain new levies, the expense of which the Durbar now disallowed, the question was referred for my opinion. I decided that all sums which Umeer Chund had expended, on public orders of Raja Lal Sing, should be admitted; but not so, any for which secret instructions, on the Raja's individual authority, had been issued. On the Misr demurring, Raja Tej Sing instantly put him under arrest, and Dewan Deena Nath having paid me a visit the same day, on telling me what the Raja had done, I remarked that, if the Misr would be reasonable, and show a disposition to meet his liabilities, I would not object to the Durbar remitting a few thousand rupees. Sheik Emamooddeen's accounts are now under scrutiny, and I have little doubt but that an equally advantageous result will follow. There will then only remain those of Runjore Sing, and Buxee Bhugut Ram. The former was under a species of restraint, before Colonel Lawrence left, for pertinaciously refusing to render an account. The latter is the Paymaster of the Forces, and, for ten years, has never, on his own showing, given in a return. I have requested the Durbar to relieve him of all the duties of Paymaster-General, and thus allow him full time to make up his books, and have proposed that, if he fail to do so in a reasonable time, he lose his appointment, and be placed in arrest.

I consider that the Government will, by these measures, recover a large sum of money, though infinitely short of what is really due to it; to which will be added

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In the course of conversation, a few days ago, with Dewan Deena Nath, I asked him how it happened that, with a record in his office of the revenue of nearly the whole territory, so many estates were farmed out. He said, originally, Maharajah Runjeet Sing had fixed money assessments for every village, but that, gradually, the system, as he grew old, had been subverted, and that, for many years, there had been seven great districts: Cashmere, Peshawur, Wuzeerabad, Mooltan, Pind Dadun Khan, with the salt mines, the Kohistan of Kangra, with a portion of the Manjha, and the Jullundur Doab; and in these, the Governors did what they liked.

I have dwelt on this subject, at much length, because it seems to be the one point of paramount importance which remains to be grappled with. As an officer bred up in the revenue department, I may give undue value to the matter. I have, however, seen the British provinces, before, and after, a good settlement; with a high assessment, and a low one. I have seen native management, both Hindoo, and Mahomedan, in jagheer estates, and khalsa; and the result of my experience is that, to benefit the people at large, and render the country truly flourishing, you must fix a moderate land-tax for the Government, and secure to the community that they shall enjoy, on paying that quota, the results of their own industry.

As a means of ascertaining the state of affairs in the different parts of the country, and to compare them with our own sources of information, the newsletters and reports of the Durbar have, some time back, been daily read by one of the political officers. This practice, as well as that of looking over the different written orders which the Durbar may issue, is very useful. Since the 15th instant, I have directed Misr Megraj to send me, daily, his cash-book of receipts and disbursements, and have found that it has a tendency to diminish expenditure. I have also objected to the disbursement of various sums, either altogether, or in part, with good effect. The sums of money, however, which the Durbar either expend themselves, or disburse in the name of the little Maharajah, are very great, and quite unreasonable with reference to the state of the finances. Every day, large sums are given away in charity; and, on changes of the moon, eclipses, anniversaries of births, and deaths, additional expenses are incurred. What makes the matter difficult to interfere with, is that the expenditure is more or less connected in each case with religious ceremonies. Some restraint, however, ought to be exercised, if we hope to make the income cover the expenses of the State.

Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, at one time, attempted to raise a loan, but did not succeed; for, who would lend to a native Government in the Punjab? Moreover, rich natives find it much more profitable to invest their money in trade, than lock it up in the funds of the State; and, though it is quite true that large sums are thus invested in the British provinces, much of such investments is confined to Calcutta, where the parties speculate on the rise and fall of the funds. I am not sorry that the idea was abandoned, for, though money is much wanted to pay up the arrears still due to the troops, much of it, under the wasteful management of the Durbar, would have been mis-spent. It is only, I conceive, under the positive understanding that the liabilities of the State must be made good out of its revenues, that they will really exert themselves to accomplish that object; so long as money is to be got, they will never scruple to spend it.

I do not, in the slightest degree, intend, by the above remarks, to reflect on the members of the Durbar; the system, and habits, under which they have been brought up, are too strong for them to resist. I have found them most friendly, and ready to attend to everything I say; but the evil is that, though all assent, the result is not attained, or only accomplished by more interference than could be wished.

The Durbar have not yet decided on allowing the Mahomedans to call their "azan," or cry to prayers. They sent me a strong remonstrance, in the first instance, and have not yet replied to my second reference, in which I stated that his Lordship was of opinion that it should be allowed. In a private consultation I had with them, they said little, but evinced great repugnance to the measure. Their conduct is founded on a mixture of timidity, and bigotry. They fear a disturbance, and are certain of opprobrium. As zealous Sikhs, whose ancestors suffered from Mahomedan oppression, they grudge their ancient enemies the free exercise of their religious ceremonies. They cannot understand the political advantage of toleration to every form of religion. On receiving the reply of the

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them merely the realization of the Government dues; in fact, making them Tehsildars.

The difficulty we experience is, in ascertaining what really has been collected, for the Khans will not furnish true statements, and the Zemindars are still too much in dread of them, to openly come forward, fearing that, immediately the troops are withdrawn, they will be at their mercy.

As indicative of this feeling, and the power of the Khans, I may here mention that, though my camp has now been here pitched for five days, and all know that the object of my coming is to redress grievances, and ameliorate the condition of the people, not half a dozen petitions have been presented, though, while at Peshawur, they daily came in from this very village, and we know that, as soon as we get into another district, they will send them after us.

The official or Duftur records, shewing only what the Government has received, affords no data of what the people have paid, as it is well known that, from the Nazim downwards, all the Government officials have realized on their own account. The principle seems to have been for every one to get what he could, either in cash, or in kind, even to the taking wives and daughters, in part payment; hence the present state of the country.

The 8,000 rupees, sent me by the Resident, as recovered from Sirdar Shere Sing, (a tithe of what he plundered,) I intend to disburse chiefly among the Eusufzyes,—who have suffered most,—giving them small sums to repair wells, buy bullocks, and farm furniture; its distribution will, I anticipate, have a most salutary effect, spreading far and wide.

Ursalla Khan, chief of Zedah, who was in arms against the Sikhs, and whose son, Bahram Khan, I found a prisoner of eleven months in Attock, and released, has recently returned from India; he had taken refuge with the Nawab of Tonk, in Rajpootana.

On reporting his arrival, I admonished him on the impropriety he had been guilty of, in not paying his respects to the Durbar; and, when he called, I told him he might expect to be sent for. I am sorry to observe he appears to have imbibed high notions of his own importance, or, as the Affghans say, “got his head full of wind.” He will require to be looked after.

I have great satisfaction in reporting most favorably of the troops: the cavalry and Goorchurras with me are picketted close to cultivation, yet not a blade has been injured, nor has a complaint been made to Lieutenant Lumsden, or myself. Some of the Ramgoles with Lieutenant Lumsden murmured at not being allowed to plunder, on the occasion of his chapow, but he promptly confined their officers and non-commissioned, and heartily frightened them.

The proclamation announcing the separation of the Ranee from the young Raja, appeared not to give the troops a thought, whereas that of the Resident, announcing the boon of pensions, and invalid pay, with pay to the families of men killed in action, was universally hailed most joyfully, and fully acknowledged to proceed from the British. I trust the Durbar will be kept up to the letter, and spirit, of this great boon.

The troops have shown that they can be held in hand, as well by their own officers, as by us: Colonel Ruttun Sing recently chapowed the village of Sheikh Mahomdee, at night, executing his instructions fully, without incurring a complaint; and Lieutenant Lumsden reports equally favorably of Colonel Holmes's force.

The promulgation of the new customs' regulation, and abolition of a mass of local taxes, which, though little productive, were creative of oppression and corruption, have given unbounded satisfaction; the people are well aware from whence proceed this novel, though true, policy, and the constant desire evinced to ameliorate their condition.

The Barukzye Sirdars are pressed by the Durbar to pay an old debt of 30,000 rupees, which they persist in declaring not due: this may lead to the confiscation of a portion of their jagheer. I have advised their paying, and remonstrating afterwards.

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to upwards of 32,000 rupees on the whole; Ilayna, to about 80,000. In the cultivated districts, it will be absorbed in the village assessments, but Sindwala, I understand, is nearly all forest, and the revenue is almost entirely paid by a tax on cattle. This tax, which was formerly very equally distributed, has now become unequal, from the changes of fortune among individuals; the owner of 100 cattle being assessed as that of ten, the owner of fifty as if he had 100.

After completing the assessment, I request you will divide off the country into four or five kardarships, so as not to make any one much more or less than two lakhs each, keeping the districts in each Doab separate, so that no Kardar shall be under the authority of two Adawlutees.

You should make notes as you go along, of the state of roads, the features of the country, the character of the soil, the habits, character, and physical appearance of the people, the facilities for irrigation, the state of trade, and the like; so as to be able, when you return, to make a full report, for the information of Government. You should also send in, weekly, a brief diary showing what you have done.

I find that the following taxes are levied:—

By fines, a sum averaging 92,000 rupees per annum, from thieves and other breakers of the law. I beg you will inquire into this item, and make a report.

Kujoor trees,—3,500; should be abolished, I think, unless in extensive forests, and not on village trees.

Kumeen tax,—1,700. I suppose this sum is collected from weavers, and other poor classes, and if so, it should be abolished.

These animals* are rendered annually by certain nomade races, who do not cultivate the land, but graze large herds of cattle. If they will consent to pay a commutation in money, so much the better; if not, the animals can, as heretofore, be made good.

Inclosure 5 in No. 13.

The Acting Resident to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, October 6, 1847.

MR. COCKS left Lahore yesterday to make the settlement of the land-tax for the Ilayna of Jhung. A copy of my instructions to that officer is herewith annexed. The members of the Durbar, so far from placing any obstacles in the way, seemed most anxious that he should be deputed for the duty; Raja Tej Sing, in particular, begged me to hasten his departure at the last Durbar.

Inclosure 6 in No. 13.

The Acting Resident to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, October 6, 1847.

I HAVE requested Captain Abbott, if possible, to make nothing but money settlements in Hazara, and, where this is not practicable, to fix a specific quantity of grain: it would, I conceive, be far more advantageous to all parties concerned, even if the Durbar had to sacrifice 10 per cent. of their revenue. I have also begged him to be quite sure that no village is too highly assessed. If necessary, I am sure the Durbar will willingly, at the Resident's instigation, bear the loss.

Inclosure 7 in No. 13.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Simla, October 13, 1847.

I AM desired to express the Governor-General's satisfaction that the Maharajah Golab Sing is exhibiting considerable anxiety to meet the wishes of the British Government, and deserve its commendation, by the adoption of measures

* Camels, 70,—Cows, 10,—Dogs, 7.

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No. 15.

*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.**Camp, Lucknow, November 20, 1847. (No. 77.)*

EVERYTHING continues perfectly quiet in the Punjab.

Inclosure 1 in No. 15.*The Resident at Lahore to L. Bowring, Esq., Assistant to the Resident, on deputation to Pind Dadun Khan.**Lahore, November 8, 1847.*

YOU will at once proceed to Pind Dadun Khan, and make a summary settlement of all the Talookahs under that Kardarship, as well as all those south of the Salt range. I annex a list of these districts, as far as I can ascertain them from the records of the Lahore Durbar, but, should you find any tracts south of the Salt range, not enumerated, you will not fail to assess them also. On the completion of this portion of the Sind Sagur Doab, you will cross into the Rechnab, or Doab between the Chenab and Jhelum, and make a settlement of all the Talookahs, which, by that time, have not been assessed by the Zemindars coming into Lahore.*

The principles which I have laid down, for the guidance of Major Lawrence, and Mr. Cocks, are those which should guide you. Consolidate the Government demand into one sum, take durkhasts from the heads of villages, and give them puttass under your signature, for three years certain, or until a second settlement.

Where the people are thriving, the country well cultivated, the old assessment will, probably, be acceptable to them; where they are impoverished, and the assessment notoriously high, you will be at liberty to give such moderate reductions as may appear necessary. Where the assessment, with the abwabs, amounts to, or exceeds, one-half the produce, it may be reduced safely to two-fifths, which would give a reduction of about 10 per cent.; where less than two-fifths, unless the country is manifestly impoverished, I do not think that more will be required; but, if such be the case, you will make an especial report to me, furnishing full data for the views you have formed. It must, however, be an assessment which will work, or it will be useless.

You should take notes, as you travel through the country and visit the different districts, in respect to its physical features, facilities of irrigation, nature of soil, caste, character, and habits of the people, their past history, the conduct of the Kardars, and the like.

Encourage the people to sink wells, and make improvements in their lands, and insert, in their lease, a clause that parties sinking new wells, or repairing old ones out of use, shall not, for the term of the settlement, be charged, by the head-man, for these improvements.

In all complaints, civil or criminal, which may be made to you, the parties should be referred to the Adawlutees, and Kardars, in the first instance; and where complainants are dissatisfied with the decisions of these officers, you can then take up the case, in the spirit, and on the principles, which, you are aware, have guided me, in my decisions at Lahore. The object is to support the authority and influence of the Lahore officials, as far as consistent with justice and humanity.

Inclosure 2 in No. 15.*The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant J. Nicholson, Assistant to the Resident.**Lahore, November 8, 1847.*

MR. L. BOWRING has this day been directed to proceed to Pind Dadun Khan, and make a settlement of all the districts under that Kardarship, as well as all those south of the Salt range.

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Lieutenant Lumsden proceeded first to Tooroo, and from thence to Kaloo Khan, and commenced, and prosecuted, the desired inquiry with his wonted zeal and diligence.

On the 24th of September, I left Peshawur, accompanied by two guns, a regiment of infantry, and 200 cavalry, and directed Lieutenant Lumsden to meet me at Tooroo, leaving his troops in their camp at Kaloo Kuan.

I crossed the Cabool River at Nowshera, and reached Tooroo on the 27th, and was there joined by Lieutenant Lumsden, who communicated to me the result of his month's enquiries.

It appeared, on examination, that what was called Government revenue was merely an item in the demand made on the cultivators; all that could be collected, in excess of this amount, being taken by the Khans, and their satellites, who had to make handsome propitiatory offerings to the Governor of Peshawur, his attendants, and the military authorities sent to expedite the collections.

A glance at the last year's accounts of Sirdar Shere Sing and Ootar Sing's administration, will show that those are no inconsiderable items.

The only traces of a fixed rate of revenue, to be found among the Khans' accounts, is the Government demand against them of 5,000 rupees per tuppah, or district, each harvest, and a nuzzerana of 500 rupees per crop. These sums included the salaries of the Khans, which varied under each Government of Peshawur, as also in each district.

This mode of assessment, without reference to the capabilities of the several districts, has proved most injurious, tending, as it did, to the desertion of the poorer ones, and a corresponding influx of population to the richer, and more lightly assessed, districts.

As an instance of the difference in the rates of payment, I need only to state that, in Dalazaie, admitted on all hands to be the richest of all the Eusufzye districts, the tax on a well amounts to 5 rupees 7 annas, while in Akkokhale, the poorest, it is twenty-four.

From the foregoing considerations, it is obvious that, even if the sum of 5,000 rupees per district, the Government tax, be taken, all extra demands being carefully excluded, the relief to the cultivators will be fully equal to a remission of 50 per cent., exclusive of the vexatious marriage-tax, &c., which I had previously abolished.

In order to leave the Khans no excuse for continuing their malpractices, I propose giving them a fixed salary, from the Peshawur treasury, totally unconnected with the revenue, the collection of which I will still allow them to make, but increasing this allowance, so as in a measure to compensate for the exactions they are now called on to relinquish.

I have explained to them, that the first man who realizes one anna more than the revenue fixed, will lose his khanship, and be otherwise punished, so as to become a lasting example to others.

Having made up my mind on these points, I called a meeting of the Khans, to explain my views, and told them to divide the aggregate sum of 53,500 rupees, per harvest, over the several districts, according to their relative productiveness.

This effected, I caused a jeerga, or council, of Mullicks, from the villages of the districts of Tooroo, and Hotee, to be summoned, and made them distribute the sum total, fixed for the Tuppah, over the villages contained in it, and then directed the Mullicks of each village to subdivide this again over their houses, wells, and ploughs. Thus much accomplished, our care will be to equalise, as far as practicable, this distribution in each district, with reference to the relative value of the land.

The foregoing remarks are only applicable to Eusufzye proper, and not to Lhoonkore or Topee Meenee, which are peculiarly situated, and must be considered apart.

From Hotee we marched to Lhoonkore. With regard to this district, it is noted, in the revenue accounts of Peshawur, as yielding 8,000 rupees per annum. This sum was only paid on one occasion, some six years ago; for the last three years, it has been in a state of insurrection, and paid little, or nothing: and I am sorry to add, that we have seen that the present crop has entirely failed, from the want of rain.

The country, at all times, is poor, and the people a wild, lawless set; at best, little better than robbers, and exceedingly impatient of control. Most of their villages are so situated under the hills, that it would require a strong brigade to

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of Tank, a tributary of Lahore. His son, Alladad Khan, the father of Shah Newaz, was ejected by the Sikhs, under Koonwur Nao Nehal Sing, about ten years ago; since which time, the country has been given over to another Mussulman family, which, having no sympathy with the people, oppressed them excessively. At the recommendation of Lieutenant Edwardes, I, therefore, lately induced the Durbar to restore the management of Tank to Shah Newaz Khan, the eldest surviving son of the hereditary chief. His character is good, and General Cortlandt writes that, as yet, he has given satisfaction to the people. The fort of Tank is garrisoned by two companies of Lahore troops and one hundred irregulars, but the Killedar is ordered in no way to interfere with the management of the country.

Eight regiments being temporarily required in, and about, Hazara, I have been obliged to order three to move from Peshawur, by the Kohat road, to enable me to make up seven for Bunnoo. The flank movement will be useful, as hitherto the Khuttucks, and other wild tribes in the Kohat direction, have acted pretty much as they liked. They plundered Dr. Jamieson, and killed some of his escort, when employed by Government on a scientific mission in that quarter, in 1842; and General Avitabili is reported, on one occasion, to have moved up, for a few marches, into the Kohat Hills, but to have retreated precipitately. I have desired Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, Barukzye, with half his contingent (1,000 men) to accompany the detachment which Lieutenant Taylor will take down, and move into Bunnoo, on the 5th of December, from the north, while Lieutenant Edwardes enters by the south-east. I do not expect that a shot will be fired. I propose that Lieutenant Taylor should return to Peshawur, and remain there, until Major Lawrence joins, when he will again proceed to Bunnoo, and assist Lieutenant Edwardes in making the military, and revenue, arrangements for Bunnoo, and the adjoining valleys.

Captain Abbott is going on judiciously, and will, I doubt not, soon tranquilize his charge. He has completed three forts, and is daily receiving the visits of chiefs and Zemindars hitherto reculant: some of the Simulkund murderers have even been given up, and others have surrendered. I have warned Captain Abbott not to build a single fort that is not absolutely necessary. He has been busy in the revenue arrangements, but seems not to have sufficiently understood my instructions authorizing him to lower the assessment as much as 20 per cent. He is now looking to the point, and endeavouring to persuade the people to pay in cash, instead of in kind. Captain Abbott is authorized to call up all the regiments from Hussan Abdal, if he requires them; and Lieutenant Nicholson has been desired to attend to Captain Abbott's requisition, should that officer require his services.

Mr. Saunders joined to-day from Hoshiarpore, and will be temporarily employed on miscellaneous duties. Lieutenant Lake, from Kangra, has arrived at Puthankote, near the border, where he has been directed to take up the revenue assessment duties. Mr. Lawrence, assisted by Mr. P. Melvill, is employed on the settlement of the Talookahs around Lahore. Mr. Cocks reports, that he has summarily assessed 350 villages, and says that he thinks he is doing real good. By the end of this month, I expect that twenty lakhs of revenue will have been settled.

Major Lawrence arrived from Peshawur yesterday. He was only eight days on the road.

Lieutenant Nicholson reports that the country around Hussan Abdal, and Rawul Pindee, hitherto, more or less disturbed, is perfectly quiet, and that the Kardars, for the first time for years, move about without guards.

The new customs' system is working well, and is likely to be more productive than was contemplated. There are, however, complaints of oppression at the ferries; this was to be expected; but the matter has been instantly taken up, and the collectors have been heavily fined for exaction. At my suggestion, the Durbar has agreed to invite traders to a great fair at Lahore, early in February next.

Sheikh Emamooddeen has, at last, paid up all his arrears for the Jullundur, but it was not until he was debarred the Durbar, and threatened with arrest. By the system I endeavoured to introduce at the beginning of the year, but which Mr. Lawrence more rigorously enforced, viz., by not permitting Kardars to retain any cash in their own hands, they will no longer have the means of falling into arrears.

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country, was to favor Syuds and other religionists; you should continue the practice to a moderate extent, so as to enlist them in our favor. Take nothing that you can avoid, from any man, that he has held for five years, unless it decidedly affects the interests of others; when it does so, money remuneration must be made. For instance, Mullicks, and others, accustomed to levy customs, must cease the practice; but they must receive full compensation. Again, all who have been in the habit of receiving nuzzurs, and other offerings, should receive some remuneration, not always the full amount, for the sovereignty of the country must now be considered to have passed from the Mullicks to the Lahore State.

It will be advisable to retain, in contentment, and in some authority, the Mullicks of the twenty Tuppas. I observe that, in your report of the 4th of May,* you estimate their profits to average about one-ninth of the proceeds of the valley, but you remark that, in an arrangement bringing Bunnoo under direct management, the Mullicks would not only lose what they heretofore received, but have to pay revenue on their own lands. I presume, however, that they paid their quota of the tribute to Lahore, and that their lands suffered, like others, from the periodical devastation of the Sikh army. I do not desire to tie you down by orders given on defective information; but would suggest that the Mullicks receive something like one-fourth of the Government share, which would be one-twelfth, or one-sixteenth, of the produce of the country, according as one-third, or one-fourth, is taken. It will be advisable that shares be thus divided, so as to make the Mullicks have a common interest with the Government. The case of Lal Baz Khan of Bazour, and any other man doing Government service, should be separately considered. A jagheer, or exemption from paying revenue on a certain number of Beegahs, should reward such service.

One of your first measures should be to demand the arrears of 80,754 rupees 13 annas 3 pice on the last year's tribute, as well as the amount for the present khureef. Any Mullick, failing to arrange for his quota, should, after being fairly warned, and allowed a moderate time to pay, say a month, or two months, be ejected from his Mullickship. Where there are evidently no means to meet these arrears, you can, of course, use your discretion; these instructions are intended to meet contumacy.

Settlements made by Wuzerees and other foreigners, should be confirmed, if of five years' standing, and all, however recent, if unopposed. Issue a notice that no claim for lands or enams will be heard, unless made within six weeks of your arrival. These squatters must, however, pay the rates of the valley, and give security for good conduct, and be clearly informed that, if discovered aiding or abetting forays, they will be summarily, and severely, dealt with.

All persons who now oppose you, may be disarmed; also any suspicious characters; but it is not advisable to irritate the people; and those who live near the Wuzereee Hills may require arms to defend themselves. Make it, however, known that all who abuse the kindness now shown, will forfeit future consideration.

In the first instance, it may be advisable to garrison the fort in the town of Bazour, but this must always be an invidious measure, and I would recommend that the garrison be Mussulmans, and that they be withdrawn, as soon as you are certain of your supplies. The post of Bazour, as well as all others in the valley not required to repress Wuzereee excursions, may then be dismantled, leaving, however, the dwelling-houses contained in them unmolested.

Seven regiments of infantry, eighteen guns, eighty zumboorahs, one regiment of regular cavalry, and 2,000 irregular cavalry, are ordered for the service; as soon as considered safe, you can send away three regiments of infantry, and 1,000 or 1,500 cavalry. Build a good mud fort, capable of holding 1,200 men and eight guns, in a healthy, central position, if possible, commanding the irrigation of the valley. Unless commanding a wholesome running stream, it should be furnished with wells or cisterns, capable of holding water for the garrison, for six months. Six of your guns can be put into the fort. Its peace garrison should be two companies of regular infantry, 200 irregulars, and a company of artillery. For the next two or three years, four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, 500 or 1,000 irregular horse, twelve guns, and fifty zumboorahs will remain, in one cantonment, near the fort, and, on any disturbance arising, the mass

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No. 17.

*The Governor-General to the Court of Directors.**On the Ganges, December 7, 1847. (No. 34.)*

I TRANSMIT a memorandum*, which contains much valuable information relating to the resources of the Punjab, drawn up, at my request, by Mr. H. M. Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India. It also contains calculations of the civil and military expenditure which would require to be incurred, if the administration of that country were to be regulated on the same system as that which prevails in our north-west provinces, and also, if the country up to the Khyber Pass were to be occupied by British troops.

I felt that I could not entrust the compilation of such a work to an abler, or more impartial, officer than Mr. Elliot, whose reputation and experience in all details of the civil administration stand very high; and I, therefore, requested him to condense various returns and reports received from Lahore, which you will find clearly arranged in the memorandum now transmitted.

You will observe that Mr. Elliot's researches have not been confined alone to the task of instituting comparisons between the state of our own highly-cultivated and prosperous provinces, and those of the Punjab, but that he has resorted to other very interesting means of comparison, afforded by an examination of the records of the Mogul Empire, 250 years ago, in the time of Akbar. In applying this test of comparative value in land assessments, to the Jullundur Doab, in which we have the most direct interest, it will be found that that Doab was assessed, 250 years ago, at nearly the same revenue that it bears now, namely, 31,75,560 rupees, in Akbar's time, and 30,09,953, for the year 1847, and that, in the four other Doabs belonging to the Punjab, the aggregate revenue, yielded in Akbar's time, was 1,02,09,155, and, at the present time, 96,00,000, exclusive of resumed lands, the value of money at the two periods being nearly the same, either as regards labor, or the price of provisions; making a difference between expected revenue in future years, and that assessed 250 years ago, when the country was in a most flourishing condition, of little more than six lakhs. If, at a later period, the comparison be made, in Aurungzebe's time, the difference, in the aggregate revenue collected, amounts to less than five lakhs.

In all probability, the revenue of the entire kingdom of the Punjab, derived from land, cannot be estimated, even for future years, at a higher sum than one million and a half sterling†; and the inference to be drawn from the data collected, is this, that, on the most economical estimate of the civil and military administration of the country, the expense of its occupation would exceed the revenues, by more than half a million sterling.

The document is an able and interesting exposition of the resources of the Punjab; and I have expressed my obligations to Mr. Elliot, for the pains and ability he has, so successfully, bestowed on the compilation.

No. 18.

*The Governor-General (the Earl of Dalhousie) in Council to the Court of Directors.**Fort William, January 21, 1848. (No. 7.)*

WE submit the accompanying papers, relating to an arrangement, proposed by the late Governor General, and concurred in by us, for obtaining the services

* The memorandum is not inserted in this collection. It is a voluminous document; and the result seems to be sufficiently shewn in the Governor-General's letter.

† Revenue.		Extra Expenditure.	
Land Revenue -	- 1,09,40,000	Civil Expenses -	- 85,50,000
Mooltan (additional) -	- 5,00,000	Military Ditto -	- 1,26,70,000
Jagheers -	- 25,20,000		
Stamps, Abkaree -	- 4,40,000		2,12,20,000
Salt Mines -	- 4,00,000	Deduct -	1,55,00,000
Customs -	- 7,00,000		
	<u>Rs. 1,55,00,000</u>	Deficiency	Rs. 57,20,000

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Inclosure 1 in No. 19.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, November 26, 1847.

ACCORDING to the determination, several months since made, Dewan Deena Nath was, this day, raised to the dignity of Raja. I had recommended Sirdar Chuttur Sing Attareewala for a similar honor, but, at the last moment, he wrote requesting that his eldest son, Sirdar Shere Sing, might be promoted in his room. I was surprised, but not displeased, at the proposal; for Shere Sing is active and energetic, while his father is in bad health.

I took the same opportunity of having inferior titles of honor conferred on some old Sirdars, and officials, as per margin*; all have, more or less, done good service, but to Misr Sahib Dyal we are indebted for the arrangement of the customs' line. He and his father bear better characters than any two men in the Punjab.

The ceremony went off well: the Maharajah was in excellent spirits, and it was remarked by the European officers and ladies, as also by the natives present, how well His Highness demeaned himself, and how happy he seemed.

Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

The Acting Resident to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, December 27, 1847.

IN my letter, dated 16th† instant, I stated that Dewan Moolraj had expressed a wish to resign the management of the province of Mooltan; but that I did not think that he would finally make up his mind to do so. Since that date, various intrigues have been going on, with the object of reducing the annual sum he now pays. Raja Deena Nath himself paid me a long visit, one of the chief objects of which was to sound me on the subject.

On Saturday the 18th, at public Durbar in the palace, Raja Deena Nath drew a paper from his vest, and presented it to me, observing that it was Dewan Moolraj's resignation. I asked him to read it out. The paper was a request from the Dewan to be allowed to give up the province, from the commencement of the past harvest. In other words, that he should account to the Durbar for the taxes he might have collected, and we should realize the balance, as well as we could. Such terms would probably have involved the loss of several lakhs of

* *Sirdars and Officers on whom Titles were conferred, on the 26th of November.*

Mubazur-ool-Moolk Sumsam ooddowlah, "Raja Tej Sing," Bahadoor Sipeh Salar Sudfer Jung "Raja Kulan Bahadoor," Raja of Sealkote.

Mukurub bargah Khas-ool-Khas zee-ool-istidar, "Raja Shere Sing Bahadoor," Attareewala Raja of Dhan Kullih.

Khyrandeish Doulut alias Dyanitdar Musheer Khas umdar-ool-maham, "Raja Deena Nath Bahadoor," Raja of Kullanoor.

Sirdar Ra-wukar, "Sirdar Golab Sing, Bahadoor," Attareewala.

Sirdar Golab Sing, "Bahadoor," Poovendia.

Sirdar Ba-wukar, "Sirdar Kher Sing, Bahadoor," Sindanwala.

Sirdar Ba-wukar, "Sirdar Mungul Sing, Bahadoor."

Sirdar Khan Sing, "Bahadoor," Majeetia.

Sirdar Goomookli Sing, "Bahadoor," Lumma.

Sirdar Ruttun Sing, "Bahadoor," Kerchakea.

Sirdar Jhunda Sing, "Bahadoor," Butalea.

Brahm Moorut oottum Saroop Kripa Nidhan Sironum Punditan Dan adbhikaree, "Pundit Mudsoodun.

Mumtazood dowlah, "Dewan Adjoodhea Pershad."

Racee, "Bhag Sing."

Ameen-ood-dowlah, "Misr Megraj."

Mootamid-ood-dowlah, "Dewan Moolraj," Nazim of Mooltan.

Mohsan-ood-dowlah Birbur, "Misr Sahib Dyal," Nazim of Customs.

Racee, "Anuntram."

Racee, "Mool Sing."

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of giving up a charge which he has the right to retain for nearly two years. Unless he remodelled his customs, his revenue from that source would have fallen off; unless he gave up some of the most unpopular of the old cesses on the cultivators, many would have abandoned their lands, and migrated into the adjoining districts. He had no faith in the elasticity of trade untrammelled, or the benefits of a light land-tax. He wished that certain dues should be given up, but that all the loss should fall on the Durbar. I proposed that he should introduce the same changes which were working so well in the rest of the Punjab, and compensate himself by the introduction of the additional sources of revenue, which we have found productive, and that, if this was not sufficient, he should reduce his military expenditure, which, in the present state of the political horizon, was still unnecessarily large. Had the Dewan come round to my views, and promised obedience to the precepts of the Council, he might have still held his government. He would have agreed to everything but that the complaints of the people should be heard. With amusing frankness he told me that his (izzut) honor was involved in the matter; and, as I considered our national reputation was equally so, it ended in the Dewan resigning his charge.

By the present arrangement, we have ample time to make every possible arrangement for the good government of Mooltan. My belief is, that, under an able executive officer, it will yield more revenue to the Durbar than it now does, with a large relief to the people. There is not only not a man at Lahore who possesses these talents, there is not one who has even a conception of the duties which would be required of him. I would, therefore, propose to depute two assistants, one of whom to be permanently located in Mooltan, and have charge of the province. A Sikh chief should accompany, to command the troops under him.

Should my views meet with the approval of the Governor-General in Council, I would depute, for this duty, Mr. Cocks and Mr. Vans Agnew, should the latter be appointed to this Residency; if not, one of the junior assistants. I would send them to Mooltan, at once, so that they should have ample time to arrange every thing before Dewan Moolraj resigns. With the advantage of his records, they might settle the whole land-tax within the next three months; to commence from the ensuing harvest; without, in any way, compromising the Dewan's position. On his departure, they would thus have sufficient local knowledge, and personal experience, to select the best of his subordinates for service in the province; to divide the country into compact Kardarships; to introduce courts of justice and police; and to discharge such portion of his army and followers as may appear to be superfluous.

While on this subject, I may add that it would appear to be advisable that the net income of Mooltan should be paid directly into the British treasury; it will, no doubt, exceed the annual sum the Durbar is bound by treaty to pay; and thus we shall, gradually, and insensibly, reduce the arrears now due, which, inclusive of the current harvest, exceed forty lakhs of rupees. Some such arrangement would be more grateful to their feelings, and certainly more secure to us. So long as little comes into their exchequer, the Durbar will have less excuse, or temptation, to expend in superfluities; and we shall be relieved from the unpleasant position of constant importunity, without which, I feel certain, we shall not be paid.

I beg to state that affairs are progressing peaceably and satisfactorily beyond the Indus. Lieutenant Taylor, who accompanied the brigade from Peshawur to Bunnoo, has returned to the former place. Lieutenant Lumsden is in the Khuttuck district, settling the land-tax, which has hitherto been in the hands of a farmer, who, by all accounts, has not neglected his opportunities to enrich himself, at the expense of the people. Major Lawrence leaves Lahore, within the ensuing week; and I propose that, on his arrival at Peshawur, Lieutenant Lumsden shall return to Lahore, to organize the guide corps, and assist me in military details.

Lieutenant Edwardes is making satisfactory progress in settling Bunnoo. I think that this officer should stay in that district, and carry out his own plans.

Captain Abbott reports the boundary of Hazara as all but complete. He has finished the settlement of the revenue, and the people seem highly pleased with his arrangements. He estimates the revenue of Hazara at but 2,60,000

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That the representations of interested persons in all past matters, may not be heard :

That I may be provided for, for the future, being your obedient servant ;— and, lastly—that I may be allowed to take possession of all the grain of the khureef crop of 1904, due from the different talookahs, and which may not have been sold.

Inclosure 4 in No. 19.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Resident.

Fort William, January 14, 1848.

WITH reference to your letter*, dated 27th ultimo, in which you propose to depute Messrs. Cocks and Agnew to Mooltan, in anticipation of the resignation of that Government by Dewan Moolraj, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to request that you will suspend any proceedings you may contemplate, consequent on the Dewan's declaration, in order that Sir F. Currie, on his arrival at Lahore, may issue such orders upon the occasion as he may consider expedient.

No. 20.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

Fort William, February 7, 1848. (No. 13.)

A LARGE quantity of gold and silver, with jewels and other property, valued altogether at about twenty-three lakhs of rupees, has been lately discovered in the toshakhana, or wardrobe, of which Raja Lal Sing had the charge, and which had remained closed since his deposition. The Durbar have offered to make over to the Resident the gold and silver, estimated to amount to about ten lakhs, as a payment on account of the debt due to the British Government. We have authorized the Resident to accept this offer.

Inclosure 1 in No. 20.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, December 16, 1847.

SINCE Colonel Lawrence's letter, dated the 13th ultimo†, giving a precis of affairs in the Punjab, little has occurred of marked interest. We have all been busily engaged in carrying out the different plans which had been laid down, for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and the improvement of the finances of the Government.

The new system of customs works well ; at first, there was a slight lull in trade from the fears and suspicions of the merchants, which being now satisfied, I anticipate that traffic will be proportionally brisk. It will take some months before the beneficial effects of the new arrangements will be thoroughly developed. No part of the new system is more satisfactory than that of the salt mines. Formerly, the whole duty was collected, months after it was due from the traders, and accounted for to the Government, years after it was paid. In this way, Moolraj, the late manager of Pind Dadun Khan, owes several lakhs of rupees, and has not, during the past year, paid, literally, anything. The customs are now paid in cash at the mine, on the salt being removed, and the farmer pays a monthly instalment of 50,000 rupees.

The assessment of the land-tax is progressing admirably. The Durbar have resigned all control over it. I estimate that, up to this date, upwards of twenty-five lakhs, or full one-quarter of the whole revenue of the country has been fixed, and the usual leases issued. I am sanguine that, in another three months, the

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and, as they pointed to each, they recounted the place and time they received it. I confess, the Sikh irregulars created a favorable impression on my mind, and those of the other political officers, and appeared to us all, both better mounted, and finer men, than our own irregular cavalry. Though very few voluntarily accepted the pension, a great number have, subsequently, signified their gratification at the arrangement. I observed nearly all those who did accept were Mahomedans, who, as a body, are vastly inferior to the Sikh soldiery.

After going through the horsemen, we had a scrutiny of the moonshees of the force; we found that, for the payment of 5,000 irregulars, the pay department cost 12,000*l.* or 1,20,000 rupees. There were no less than 139 moonshees, thus giving about three to every hundred horsemen. We had these men all paraded, with a nominal list, showing their age, service, and amount of pay, under the different changes of Government, from Maharajah Runjeet Sing downwards. It was then apparent that, as order and system decreased, their pay increased, until it reached its height, in Sirdar Jowahir Sing's time. The subsequent reductions in the army do not appear to have affected the moonshees. We have now discharged all new appointments, and reduced the pay of the remainder to about that which they received from Maharajah Runjeet Sing, when the irregulars were double their present force. This will effect a saving of 60,000 rupees, but the department is still much too expensive, and, therefore, as opportunity offers, some of its members must be transferred to other offices. I must add, that we pensioned several of the oldest of them.

I was curious to see the different views which the members of the Durbar, its soldiers, and civilians, took of this necessary reduction. It certainly created much sensation, much more so than if we had reduced double the amount among the soldiery; and the soldiers themselves said they had got fair play. Nothing, in my mind, shows more clearly the necessity of full interference, and thorough scrutiny into every change that is required, than this reduction. If left to themselves, the Council would never have made it, though the force was ten months in arrears, and they had not the means of paying them. If necessitated to make the reduction, but allowed to carry out the details, we should have had all the moonshees, the old and superannuated soldiers, continued, and the young and vigorous, but uninfluential men, discharged. Up to this day, we have paid up about two-thirds of the arrears due to the discharged and pensioned men, and the whole will be completed in two days more.

The irregular force, then, in Lahore, who continue in the service, will amount to about 1,100 horsemen, and, after receiving four months' pay, they will now be sent out to the different stations, and those from the Jhelum downwards called in, to be dealt with in a similar way as their predecessors. Those in Peshawur will stand fast, until Major Lawrence arrives; those in Hazara and Bunnoo Tank will not be touched, until we can relieve them from Lahore.

The finances are still in a very unsatisfactory state; it is the one great difficulty which now remains. The introduction of the new system of land-tax, the reform in the customs, the loss attendant on reforming the currency, and calling in all the depreciated coinage, with the sums necessary for paying up the arrears of the irregulars, and the civil officials, cannot but amount to a large sum. Much of this pressure, no doubt, is but temporary; still, in the exhausted state of the treasury, it is with the greatest difficulty that the Durbar can meet its demands.

I would not, however, assist them with a rupee: so long as they have any money, they seem to burn to get rid of it, and in any way but that of paying their just debts. When once the Durbar have paid up their own people, I think it would be politic to require them to begin to pay the arrears due to the British Government. Immediate and urgent pressure is the only course which has any effect on them.

At present, we are practising as much economy as possible. Not a rupee is paid away but on an order countersigned by the Resident. The daily receipt and expenditure are punctually recorded, and examined by myself; and I steadily refuse to allow of the disbursement of any sum which can be avoided.

The saving by Sirdar Lehna Sing's secession, by lapses and forfeitures of jagheers, by the reform in the Paymaster-General's office, in the reductions of the irregular cavalry, and its pay department, by remodelling the courts of justice as occasion may offer, and the saving which may be effected in collecting the revenue, when the settlement is completed, cannot fall short of seven or eight

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different frontiers, and even be of service in some of our provinces, where the Government regulations are not in force, and where the people have not the benefit of any written law.

The new codes have been compiled from the spirit of the Government regulations, and the new criminal code of the late "Law Commission" in Calcutta, modified to suit the wants, and customs, of the people of the Punjab. The chief merit of these works is clearness and simplicity; and, if their execution should meet with approval, I shall feel gratified, for Mr. C. Saunders is an excellent officer, and has exerted himself, since his arrival at Lahore, in preparing them.

Inclosure 3 in No. 20.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Duleepgurh, Bunnoo, December 27, 1847.

IT may, perhaps, be urged that the administration of just laws should conciliate the good opinion of the people, and reconcile them to the loss of their former barbarous liberty. But this theory is at variance with all the experience which we have gained of the Affghan character; and, perhaps, must not be too confidently applied to our oldest possessions in Hindostan. The hope that a Sikh Government, even with all the supervision that British officers can give it, will ever succeed in securing the affections of an ignorant, and, therefore, most intolerant, Mussulman population, is, I am afraid, delusive. What has it to offer them, in return for one-fourth, or one-third, of the produce of their fields?—Nothing but laws. And it has been very fairly doubted whether the want of laws was ever felt by any society which had never known them; though, once enjoyed, their loss is a severe infliction. Certainly, the wholesome restrictions of the law will at first gall, rather than conciliate, both Bunnoochees and Wuzcerees; and they will be submitted to, only because they cannot be resisted.

My own view of the position of the Sikh Government in Bunnoo, though I advance it with deference, is, that it rests now, and ever will rest, solely on military power; that it is in direct opposition to what in other countries is called public opinion, *i. e.* the consent of the majority of the governed; and, consequently, that continuing in the administration of just laws, imposing an easy revenue, and doing its duty to the best of its ability to the people, it should yet never forget that those people are its unwilling subjects—nay, its secret enemies—and be prepared at all times to coerce, instead of relying on obedience.

This view of the occupation of Bunnoo may seem equivalent to saying that it can never pay, and I am bound to submit it as my opinion, after considerable intimacy with the tribes in, and around, it, that Bunnoo never will remunerate the Sikh Government, unless it is disarmed, for the very reason that, till then, the withdrawal of a large force will be impracticable.

I estimated, last spring, the probable revenue that would be derived from Bunnoo, if occupied, at from a lakh to a lakh and a half per annum. Every day, however, develops its resources, and I think I should be safe in estimating the revenue at, at least, two lakhs a year. No new troops being raised to occupy Bunnoo, but only old ones advanced from quiet districts, it might be urged that these two lakhs are clear gain; but this argument is, I believe, not held to be a sound one, as there is no saying when a simultaneous necessity may arise, for the employment of those troops in both the old and the new possessions. If, therefore, Bunnoo is to be debited with the expenses of the troops actually in it, it will only be a profitable annexation, when the garrison can be reduced to the strength mentioned by Colonel Lawrence, which I repeat my belief will be impracticable, so long as the Bunnoochees are in possession of their arms, though it might be done next year, if their arms were taken away now.

In illustration of these remarks, I would adduce the adjoining valley of Murwut. It is now about five years ago since Mullick Futteh Khan Towannah was deputed by Shere Sing to do in Murwut exactly what I am now doing in Bunnoo. He built a fort, and established a garrison, and gave the Sikhs what they never had before—a firm footing. But he did not disarm the people. The consequence was that, after Murwut had been occupied for five years, and the

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perty should be attached; if none is forthcoming, their land should be attached; and, after due proclamation for the appearance of the defaulter, and the payment of the balance, the lands, in default, should be confiscated. I do not think that you would be justified in making a tuppā in which they had found refuge, responsible. It would be a circumstance difficult to prove, and dangerous to act on, for it would open the door to extortion on the part of officials.

The adjustment of uniform weights and measures, though a most useful measure, is a difficult one to carry out. It has never yet been effected in our own provinces; and the Kardars are likely to abuse the power thus placed in their hands. In any case, a time should be given to the people to make the proposed change, and standard weights should be furnished the Kardar, with which to assimilate those of the traders.

Inclosure 5 in No. 20.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, December 30, 1847.

THE Dhokul Sing corps, which is commanded by Colonel Man Sing, is the one in which Major G. Lawrence reported, that he had found so many deserters and discharged sepoys of our troops. On the arrival of the corps at Lahore, it would appear to be expedient to disband the regiment, supplying its place by drafts from the élite of the Mooltan troops.

I beg to add that the Dhokul Sing Corps was sent from Peshawur to Bunnoo, with the intention of hereafter coming on to Lahore, with the view of securing the deserters in it, and re-organizing the corps.

Inclosure 6 in No. 20.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Lahore, January 4, 1848.

I ACKNOWLEDGE your letter of the 27th ultimo*, in which you discuss, and advocate, the necessity of disarming the people of Bunnoo. I confess that the question is one of much difficulty; it is one on which much may be said, both for, and against, the measure. On the whole, after giving the subject my mature consideration, I am inclined to doubt the expediency of your proposition.

If you endeavour to disarm the Bunnoochees, we shall come in direct collision with them, on a point on which they must be most sensitive, and, probably, induce them to combine and resist. I consider that any attempt of this nature will prove, in a great measure, unsuccessful. We may disarm the weak and timid, and, therefore, render them a more easy prey to their dangerous neighbours. You may succeed in disarming the Bunnoochees, will you be equally successful with the predatory and migratory Wuzerees? In taking away the arms of the former, can you substitute in their stead sufficient protection? I do not think that any police, particularly in the East, can defend a people who are not able to resist attack, certainly not the unarmed Bunnoochee, who, in the eye of the Wuzerees, has, hitherto, been the object of legitimate plunder.

The arguments you advance for disarming the inhabitants of Bunnoo, are equally applicable to Hazara, and to Peshawur; indeed, to many portions of the British territory; but the plan has never, to my knowledge, been adopted. The Mewat country, south of Delhi, a hilly tract, difficult of access in many parts, from its rugged nature, and the deep ravines which intersect it, could, at the time of its cession, by the account of the people, have mustered 30,000 horsemen. For nearly a century preceding our rule, the inhabitants had been in a state of rebellion, and had not only paid little revenue, but plundered to the gates of Delhi. It is now as quiet as any portion of the upper provinces, and could with difficulty assemble 1,000 horsemen.

I admit that the Sikhs will ever find difficulty in winning the good-will of

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It appears to me that the sending a number of Ameens to measure the cultivation of Bunnoo, must have proved distressing to the people; perhaps, it was necessary, from the absence of data on which to form your assessment. They should be looked after most carefully, and got rid of as soon as possible. The lands should be measured in tracts, and not field by field; and, in this way, an active Ameen may measure the whole of the cultivation of a village, in a couple of days.

I fully admit the difficulty of the task before you; at the same time that I conceive it to be, by no means, an impracticable one.

Inclosure 7 in No. 20.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, January 7, 1848.

I SUBMIT a correspondence between my assistant, Lieutenant Edwardes, and myself, relative to the expediency of disarming the people of Bunnoo.

I consider the measure impolitic, inasmuch as it would unite all classes against us: it would be inoperative, inasmuch as it would be but partially successful; and, lastly, as far as it did succeed, it would be injurious, for it would expose the disarmed Bunnoochee to the attacks of the formidable Wuzceeree, who, safe in his mountain fastness, could choose his opportunity for attack.

The people of Bunnoo do not appear to be particularly warlike: during the twenty-six years that the country has been under Sikh rule, the collision between them and the inhabitants was not frequent; they built no forts, and took no precautions to hold the country properly, contenting themselves with sending a force, every two or three years, to collect the revenue, and despoil the people. It cannot be supposed that, under such a system, the people could be particularly well affected. But, now that arrangements have been made for its permanent occupation, for building a fort, and locating a garrison; when law and system shall be established, with an official of honesty and energy to enforce them, the aspect of affairs should certainly be changed. Lieutenant Edwardes, you are aware, spent some time in Bunnoo last year. He describes the valley as well cultivated and fertile, and fully peopled; the Wuzceeree and Bunnoochee struggling for its possession. This is not the land where, under gentle, but firm, treatment, under light taxation, and just laws, the people will abandon their lands. To bring, however, the undertaking to a successful issue, it is not alone necessary that plans should be wisely laid, it is essential that a man of experience and ability should remain there, and work out the details.

Inclosure 8 in No. 20.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, January 12, 1848.

THE revenue settlement is rapidly progressing; and will, I trust, be completed, before the hot winds set in, even if we include Mooltan. In my next report, I propose giving an abstract of the settlement, which has been finished, of each doab, or province.

When this country has once been settled completely, we shall then, for the first time, have a true rent-roll. The difference between the real and nominal revenue will, probably, be little less than a fourth; and from the former, must again be deducted the reductions on the summary settlement. The savings, from the decreased expenses of management, will go far to meet the last noted deficiency; but still the income will, I fear, inevitably fall short of the expenditure. As I daily become better acquainted with the details of the existing system, I see more clearly the absolute necessity of our entire interference, if we hope to see affairs on a satisfactory footing. As the accounts of the great farmers of revenue are passed by the Durbar, I receive copies, not so much with the object of discovering, and remedying, past frauds; for this would be hopeless; but to obtain a thorough insight into these matters;

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perceive that the Mahomedans exceed the Hindoos of all sects, in the proportion of three to two. This is a surprising result, when we reflect that it has so long been the capital of the Sikh power. Major MacGregor proposes leaving Lahore on the 1st proximo; his loss will be sensibly felt, for he is an excellent officer, and highly popular both with the Durbar, and all classes of the European and Native community.

He is now preparing a military code, for the use of the Sikh troops, from notes which the Resident left behind, and some assistance from Major Lawrence, which, I trust, will be completed before he leaves Lahore.

The accounts from Peshawur, Hazara, and Mooltan are all favorable.

Inclosure 9 in No. 20.

Major Lawrence to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, January 19, 1848.

LIEUTENANT Lumsden met me at Attock, and we passed the 15th and 16th together; he then left me to continue his investigation into the settlement of Khuttuck, which, he tells me, has proved a very much more difficult matter than that of Eusufzye, and will require, at least, another month to complete.

Lieutenant Taylor has commenced upon the summary settlement of the Momund district, and I shall take up that of one of the other districts as soon as possible.

Lieutenant Bowie is zealously employed in organizing the artillery, and his exertions and talents are well considered by Lieutenants Lumsden and Taylor.

I am happy in being enabled to report that I found the city and province perfectly quiet, and every thing in good order, and the troops happy and contented.

Inclosure 10 in No. 20.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, January 28, 1848.

IN reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo*, on the misconduct of the Dhokul Sing corps, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council approves of your proposal to disband this corps, on its arrival at Lahore.

Inclosure 11 in No. 20.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, January 28, 1848.

I ACKNOWLEDGE your correspondence on the subject of disarming the people of Bunnoo, and am directed, in reply, to state that the Governor-General in Council approves of the tenor of your communication to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Inclosure 12 in No. 20.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, February 4, 1848.

YOU will take an early opportunity of making a formal application to the Durbar, for the payment of the arrears of debt due to the British Government, for

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line of conduct to be pursued, if an invasion, and a rising (for the one will follow the other) do take place. With a staunch commander, and select garrison, in the fort, I should be more inclined, with the rest of my force, to assume the initiative: 2,400 men, and twelve guns, well handled, ought to be irresistible, in the plains, against any tumultuary force, however numerous. The evil of shutting yourself up in the fort would be, that your men would lose courage, and the enemy gain confidence in proportion.

I think you are right in opening communications with Zeywur Shah, and recommend that you confirm his rent-free lands to him, during good behaviour. I would also employ well-paid emissaries in Dom, and the country round about Bunnoo.

I request you will have orders waiting at Dera Ismael Khan, for the Futteh Sing corps, and the companies I have ordered up. Should there be a rising, and they have to cross, they should be joined by all the force at that place, and, particularly, with some guns, so as to advance in strength; and you will, of course, make a movement, if necessary, with part of your force, to enable them to join.

Inclosure 2 in No. 21.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, February 4, 1848.

I DO not conceive that there is any danger at Peshawur. As a disturbance, however, in Bunnoo, particularly if the Barukzye chiefs are concerned, would sensibly affect the former province, I have thought it right to reinforce Major Lawrence.

Bunnoo, Hazara, and Peshawur are the three vulnerable points of the Sikh territory, and Attock is the central position from which troops could march in any direction. I have still two corps in reserve, by the above arrangements, to support Captain Abbott in Hazara.

Inclosure 3 in No. 21.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to Major Lawrence.

Lahore, February 4, 1848.

IT seems evident that one-third of the Sikh army is considered sufficient for Peshawur; but that a portion should be available for service at a distance, on the right bank of the Indus. When 10,000 men were named as the appropriate force for the province, the Sikh army amounted to upwards of 20,000 infantry, and 12,000 cavalry. Now, the former arm does not exceed 17,000 men, and the latter, if we deduct the men about to be disbanded, nearly one-half of which have actually received their discharge, cannot be estimated above 10,000*.

I find that you have the following force, present and effective:—

	Men.
Regular troops - - - -	4,300
Irregulars - - - -	1,600
Goorchurras - - - -	850
	<hr/>
	6,750

with a troop of artillery, and three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, at Bunnoo.

	Men.
* Infantry - - - -	16,972
Artillery - - - -	1,568
Regular Cavalry - - - -	3,263
Goorchurra ditto - - - -	5,128
Jagheerdar ditto - - - -	3,500
	<hr/>
	11,911

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rupees; on English coarse calicoes, from thirty to twenty rupees; and on sugar, from two rupees to one rupee per maund.

The tranquillity of the country has been slightly disturbed at Umritsur. At the Mohurram the two sects of Shecas and Soonees had a violent fracas; these people, who have so long been oppressed by the Sikhs, no sooner begin to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, than they quarrel among themselves. Last year, about the time of the treaty of Bhyrowal, a similar émeute took place at Lahore, which was settled by the prompt interference of Lieutenant Edwardes. At Umritsur, the Sikh authorities mismanaged the matter, and aggravated the disturbance, by publicly parading, through the town, three of the chief religious men of the Soonees, who are said to have been most to blame, on asses, with their faces blackened. From 6,000 to 8,000 Mahomedans assembled at Lahore, from Umritsur and the surrounding country, and filled the streets and bazaars, vociferating for justice. I sent for some of the most influential, and explained to them that nothing could be done, until the crowds dispersed, and returned home; that, if they committed any overt acts of violence, they would bring down ruin upon themselves; reminded them, how kindly they all had been treated, since we entered the country; and, finally, assured them that, when order was restored, I would inquire into the matter, and afford them redress. This, with the cold and hunger so many must have experienced, from the journey, and want of shelter at Lahore, appeased their feelings, and all have, some days ago, quietly dispersed. At Lahore, the Mohurram, which is the time when such quarrels usually take place, passed off perfectly peaceably, owing to the issue of a few simple rules, which Major MacGregor took care to have effectually carried out.

I have further to report that a fanatic Akalee, with four or five followers well armed, has taken possession of one of the towers which surround the sacred tank and temple at Umritsur, and has, for the last three days, defied all attempts to seize him. A portion of the regiment in Govindgurh was called out against him; but I am sorry to add that, on the first day, he wounded the colonel and a sepoy; and, on the second, killed a subadar, and wounded three sepoy. Partly, from the difficulty of assailing the post, and partly, I conceive, from a certain awe which the Sikhs entertain for such characters, he has not yet been captured. I hear that the party have got provisions; but how they manage for water, I do not comprehend; it is evident that they must have an understanding with some one below. The Durbar have sent a select party from Lahore, with instructions to give the Akalee and his men half an hour to surrender, and, on their refusal, to attack them; but, if this cannot be done without the chance of losing many lives, to undermine the tower, and blow it up.

From Peshawur, the accounts are very favorable. Major Lawrence was received, on his arrival, with demonstrations of good feeling on the part of the people. Lieutenant Lumsden was, in the interior, employed in settling the land. I have directed Lieutenant Taylor to proceed to Bunnoo, and join Lieutenant Edwardes, who, some time ago, asked for assistance, wishing to make a tour through Dera Ismael Khan, Murwut, and other places, with General Cortlandt, the Nazim. It is well not to leave the Sikh troops in Bunnoo without an English officer: I have, therefore, sent Lieutenant Taylor thither.

I regret that another attempt has been made on Lieutenant Edwardes, which has only failed by his shooting the assailant. This officer is still very anxious to disarm the people of Bunnoo; but I am, nevertheless, of opinion that it would be an impolitic measure, and probably lead to much oppression on the part of the troops and police. He has purchased up a considerable quantity of fire-arms, by remitting arrears of revenue, which, he says, he would never have recovered.

I have also to add that, on the night of the 25th instant, a desperate attempt was made, by the convicts at Lahore, to escape. About dusk, they made a rush at the gate, which was shut, with only a small wicket for ingress and egress. Unfortunately, though the gate was shut, it was not locked, and the prisoners, after overpowering the sentry, opened it. The guard, however, quickly turned out, and attacked them; when, three were killed, sixteen wounded, and fourteen escaped. Major MacGregor and Lieutenant Pollock were, shortly after the event, on the spot.

The Nazim of Mooltan, since his return to his government, has been disbanding a portion of his troops, with reference, no doubt, to his approaching resignation. He has evinced a willingness to make reparation for the illegal exactions of his people against traders on the Indus, by remitting to me, on

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Inclosure 2 in No. 22:

Jeebun Sing, Mooktear to the Maharanee Junda Khore, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Calcutta, January 2, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to inform you of my arrival in Calcutta, bearing the letter of Her Highness, the Maharanee Junda Khore, mother of the Maharajah Duleep Sing, addressed to the Governor-General of India in Council, and charged with her commission to lay before his Excellency, on her behalf, a representation of the cruel and unworthy treatment under which she now suffers; to demand of British justice a full and impartial investigation of the charges, (but imperfectly known even to herself) under which she has, by British authority, been condemned to incarceration; and to require that the restraint to which she may be subjected pending that investigation, may be such as becomes the widow of one Sovereign Prince, and the mother of another; such as is compatible with the safety of her person; and such as will not deprive her of that intercourse with her friends and advisers which is necessary for bringing the truth of her cause to light.

I beg to solicit the honor of an audience, for the purpose of delivering my credentials, and laying before his Lordship in Council, a further statement of the nature of my instructions, and the object of my mission, or that his Lordship will be pleased to point out in what manner, and through what channel, it will be agreeable to him to receive the representations which I have been commanded to make, on behalf of my Royal Mistress.

I request you will do me the favor to communicate his Lordship's reply to me, under cover, to the care of Mr. John Newmarch, solicitor, Calcutta.

Inclosure 3 in No. 22.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Jeebun Sing, styling himself Mooktear of the Maharanee Junda Khore.

Fort William, February 18, 1848.

I HAVE received, and laid before the Governor-General in Council, your letter dated the 2nd of January, and, in reply, am directed to acquaint you, that his Lordship in Council declines to recognise you as a vakeel of the Ranee Junda Khore, except through the representative of the Government, the Resident at Lahore.

Inclosure 4 in No. 22.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Sir Frederick Currie, Baronet, Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, February 18, 1848.

I TRANSMIT a communication from Jeebun Sing, styling himself Mooktear of the Maharanee Junda Khore.

In acquainting the Ranee that her letter has been received, his Lordship in Council requests that you will inform her, that the Governor-General in Council declines to recognise her vakeel, and that all her communications must be made through the Resident.

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No. 23.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

April 8, 1848. (No. 30.)

WE forward dispatches, received from the Resident at Lahore, on the subject of affairs in the Punjab.

Inclosure 1 in No. 23.

*Lieutenant Edwardes to the Acting Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Duleepgurh, Bunnoo, February 12, 1848.*

I HAVE to thank you for your kindness in giving us another regiment, and ordering our absent companies to rejoin. The force we have here, at present, though small, is in good order, and would be sufficient, I think, to repel any amount of insurgents from the hills; but numbers give confidence in every camp, and if the Futtah Pultun was doing nothing at Hussan Abdal, it will, at all events, be more useful here, in lightening the somewhat laborious duties of our soldiers, who, by day, work at the fort, and, by night, have their pickets and watches, and go cheerfully through all.

The Dourees, at the last moment, have been deserted by their allies, the Khastees and the Muhsood Wuzceerees, the former availing themselves of the late heavy snow-storms in the hills as an excuse for not keeping their appointment, and the latter having their attention suddenly drawn home by the unexpected breaking out of a feud, in which one chief's son was killed by the son of another, and the clan divided for a fight among themselves. The hostile combination, in fact, has failed, and, in the emergency, the Dourees, unable still to persuade themselves that we are not waiting to seize their country, are now inclined to throw themselves on our mercy, and make terms for being lightly ruled. Already one Mullick has come in, and the others, I am told, wait but a word from me to follow.

Lieutenant Taylor joined me yesterday, but I shall not start for Kolachee, until the present peaceful aspect of affairs is quite confirmed.

Inclosure 2 in No. 23.

*The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.**Lahore, February 19, 1848.*

IN my letter dated the 31st ultimo*, I had the honor to report, that an Akalee, with some followers, had taken post in one of the buildings adjoining the temple at Umritsur, and, in resisting the troops who were endeavouring to capture them, had killed a subadar, and wounded an officer and several men. Before dispatching my letter, I had the satisfaction of adding that these Akalees had surrendered to the party dispatched from Lahore against them.

The culprits were brought to Lahore, and the case investigated before the Durbar. Gunda Sing, the leader of the party, and his eight associates, all Akalees, were arraigned for the murder of the subadar, and wounding the commandant of the corps, and some of his men, with intent to kill. The guilt of the prisoners being fully proven, and there being no extenuating circumstances pleaded in defence, the leader, Gunda Sing, and two of his associates, were sentenced to be hanged, and the remaining six prisoners to confinement, with labor and irons, for seven years.

These sentences I confirmed, on the 14th instant, and accordingly, this morning, the three Akalees sentenced to death were hanged. As this was the first instance in which Akalees have been sentenced to death, I requested the brigadier commanding at Lahore to have the 18th regiment of Native Infantry, whose parade-ground is within one hundred yards of the spot where executions

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in the Motee Mundur, or Great Treasury, with the exception of a few vessels of this metal, which they have retained, as relics of Maharajah Runjeet Sing's time. This gold was of little use to them, and, in the course of time, would have been gradually wasted away; whereas, by this payment, they have reduced their debt to the British Government from upwards of forty lakhs of rupees to less than twenty-seven.

I beg to add that I have taken no silver from the Durbar, but have had what was found, melted up, and converted into rupees. They have thus, by economy and care, been able to make good four months' pay of the irregular cavalry, to discharge the whole of the arrears of the men who have been pensioned and disbanded, to meet their current expenses, and have still, at this moment, full eight lakhs of rupees in the different treasuries to meet the public exigencies.

Inclosure 6 in No. 23.

The Acting Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, March 1, 1848.

THE possibility, indeed, I may add, the probability, of an invasion of the Bunnoo valley, and an insurrection of its inhabitants has, during the past month, been the subject of the greatest interest. On the first news from Lieutenant Edwardes, I took every precaution which appeared necessary, both to strengthen his position, and also that of Major Lawrence at Peshawur; as any disturbance in one portion of the Trans-Indus country would, probably, spread to the other parts. I am now happy to add that, by Lieutenant Edwardes' reports, it would appear that the excitement and enthusiasm of the Affghan tribes, round and about him, is considerably diminished. It is by no means certain that an invasion of the Bunnoo valley may not yet take place; but the chances seem against it. As the people learn to appreciate the benefits of peace and security; when they see that they are both protected from the depredation of their predatory neighbours, and from the extortion of their hereditary chiefs at home; they may cease to call for the assistance of tribes, akin to them in religion and lineage, but opposed to them in interest.

Since Major Lawrence's return to Peshawur, matters have progressed most peaceably. Lieutenant Lumsden has been engaged in the revenue settlement in the Khuttuck district, and his principal fully employed at the capital of the province. Lieutenant Taylor who was directed to proceed to Bunnoo, and, for a time, assist Lieutenant Edwardes, has joined that officer.

The country of Hazara seems perfectly tranquil. The judicious measures of Captain Abbott, the considerate treatment of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, the Nazim, and the completion of the light assessment, have worked wonders amongst its turbulent inhabitants. It remains but to reduce the expense of the local establishments, to render the arrangements for Hazara complete,—and some progress with this object has been, already, effected.

Everything is quiet in Mooltan. Since Dewan Moolraj's return, we have had fewer complaints against him. I shall, however, be glad to see him relinquish his charge, that we may extend the reformation in the customs, and land tax, to that province. The income also which this Nazim, now, draws from the country, will go far to compensate the Durbar for the reductions elsewhere.

In the remainder of the Punjab, the public peace has been but slightly disturbed. At Umritsur, the mismanagement of the Adawlutee, or Judge, had nearly led to serious consequences. His harshness in the quarrel between the Sheeas and Soonees, and his want of vigor and courage in the affray with the Akalees, were equally lamentable. The Mahomedan case has been quietly disposed of; the parties whom the executive officer had confined, have been released, and security taken from them for the future. In the Akalee case, as I have reported, it did not end without bloodshed, and the forfeiture of their lives, by three of the most guilty of the party. I have deemed it necessary to remove Baba Lutchemun Sing, the Adawlutee, from Umritsur to a less onerous position.

The state of the tracts termed the Manjha (midland), which is the country from Deenanuggur to Battala, and round about Umritsur, is not satisfactory.

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collectors of revenue, and the further saving which will be effected in the cavalry, and the reorganization of the artillery, and contingent, will also add to the resources of the State*.

I should also recommend that the system of giving and receiving presents, the grant of sums of money on the marriage of the children of servants of the Durbar, be either altogether done away with, or greatly reduced. The system of presenting considerable sums of money, on every occasion of a change of Resident, or the arrival, or departure, of the assistants on their deputation into the interior of the country, seems altogether unnecessary, and, as an example to the Sikhs themselves, might be abolished: and the giving, and receiving, presents be restricted to a certain moderate sum, and confined to days of state and ceremony.

The system of granting khilluts might also, to a great extent, be done away. These presents involve greater abuses, and much more loss to the State than making presents, and offerings, of money. The shawls, swords, horses, and the like, of which the khilluts are composed, probably cost the Durbar double their real value; so that their loss is not a proportionate gain to the individuals among their own people who receive them, or to the British Government, when conferred on its officers. I have no doubt that the expenses of the toshakhana at Lahore amount to several lakhs of rupees per annum.

No. 24.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

Fort William, May 2, 1848. (No. 37.)

WE transmit correspondence relative to the affairs of the Punjab.

Inclosure 1 in No. 24.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, March 10, 1848.

THE reductions which have been made in the military establishment are highly satisfactory, conducing, as they do, to the great efficiency of the force, no less than to the financial relief, of the Lahore State.

Inclosure 2 in No. 24.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, April 28, 1848.

THE Governor-General in Council approves of the deputation of Mr. Vans Agnew to Mooltan, in the capacity of Political Agent, consequent on Dewan Moolraj's resignation of the Nizamut.

* Not including Peshawur, up to this date, the irregular cavalry have undergone the following modifications :—

					Men.
Retained in the service	-	-	-	-	2,419
Discharged	-	-	-	-	389
Pensioned	-	-	-	-	367
Under consideration	-	-	-	-	21
					<hr/>
Number inspected					- 3,196
Saving effected, Rs. 2,25,093.					

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The opening up of new branches of the Muslee Canal would, however, do more for the prosperity of this Doab, and the improvement of the finances, than any scheme which could be adopted. I would strongly advocate the expediency of re-modelling the whole system of management.

It is superfluous for me to attempt pointing out the advantages of canal irrigation: they are now fully admitted. If irrigated land, in other parts of India, yield treble, or quadruple, the produce of unirrigated soils, here, the comparative advantages are still greater; the stiff clay uplands of the Punjab are literally uncultivable, without water.

It is well known that the Baree Doab, though containing many Mahomedans, is the seat of the Sikh power, and is the tract from which the flower of their soldiery were recruited. The great mass of these men came from the unirrigated valleys of the Manjha. These spots are now thronged by soldiers, disbanded since the war, but chiefly deterred from taking to agriculture for a livelihood, from the deficiency of irrigation. In a political, therefore, as well as a financial, view, the opening up of new lines of canals would prove of vast importance.

The population of the Rechna Doab is of various castes, Rajpoots towards the foot of the hills, Jats in the centre, and Mahomedan tribes in the south. Many of the Rajpoots and Jats are Hindoo, only in lineage; their forefathers, during Mahomedan power, having turned to that faith. In the whole Doab, the great mass of the population is decidedly Mahomedan. The chief pursuit is agriculture; there are few manufactures, and little trade.

The inhabitants of Chuch Doab are chiefly Mahomedans, whose character much depends on their circumstances and condition. In the waste lands, they are rude and uncivilised, keeping up large herds of cattle, and attending little to agriculture: where the soil is at all fertile, or possesses facilities for irrigation, they are, on the contrary, well-behaved, and peaceable. The Hindoos are but few in number, except in Meenec and Sarewall, where they are the principal merchants and traders.

The revenue has always been collected in this Doab with difficulty. It was not uncommon, in cases where the people would not pay, to quarter bodies of cavalry on districts, to attack villages, and plunder them. Thus, the country has, yearly, become more depopulated, the land has remained untilled, and the people learnt to detest the Government, which oppressed, without controlling them. It is to be hoped that the present equitable system of settlement will bring back peace, order, and wealth, to the country. The land-tax of the whole of the district has been settled, with the exception of the border tract which Captain Abbott is now engaged on, and which may be expected to be completed in a few days.

The population of the Sind Sagur Doab is almost exclusively Mahomedan, many of them lawless and troublesome, and, hitherto, only paying revenue, when coerced.

Of the districts of Hazara, Mooltan, and the Trans-Indus possessions, I shall forbear attempting any account, simply noting that about two lakhs of Peshawur revenue, a portion of Bunnoo, and all Hazara, have been completed.

On the whole, though all the returns have not yet been received, I cannot estimate that less than fifty-four lakhs of land revenue has been completed, within the last five months. I would recommend that the establishments of each division of the country be revised, and statements of income, and expenditure, carefully drawn up, like that of the Baree Doab.

I do not think that the revenues of the Punjab will be found to exceed ninety-four* lakhs, that is, eighty-four for land revenue, and twelve for customs, exclusive of the three lakhs set apart for public improvements, which are derived from other sources, such as the excise, the tolls on rivers, and the like. The new settlement will not, I anticipate, be found to have reduced the real income 10 per cent., however considerable the reductions may prove on the nominal one; indeed, I am satisfied that the State will have gained by the change, for much of the former revenue was actually embezzled, and never found its way to the coffers of the State. Mooltan, by the new arrangement consequent on Moolraj's resignation, ought to yield an increase of four or five lakhs, making up the revenue to a crore of rupees (one million sterling). The rest of the resources of the country

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Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant W. A. Anderson, of the 1st Regiment of Bombay Fusiliers.

As yet, it is uncertain whether this event originated in a preconcerted plan, on the part of the Dewan of Mooltan, or whether it is merely to be traced to the occasion of Mr. Agnew's visit to the province, and to the irritated feelings with which the Mooltan soldiers saw a British officer come among them, and receive possession of their fort, with the object of changing the whole system of administration under which they were living, and of giving them a new master, acting under the advice, and subject to the immediate control, of the British authorities.

After the death of Sawun Mull, which took place in September, 1844, his son Moolraj succeeded him, as Nazim of Mooltan. The Lahore Durbar, acting upon the information they had received, of the vast treasures amassed by Sawun Mull, demanded from Moolraj, upon his installation in the Nizamut, the sum, it is said, of no less than one crore of rupees, as Nuzzerana. The demand was, eventually, reduced to eighteen lakhs, "which sum (Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence writes, on the 3rd of July, 1846), would have been gladly paid, but for the misfortunes that, one after the other, pressed on the Durbar, and ended in what appeared its destruction." Upon the establishment, by British power, of the present administration at Lahore, the Durbar determined to compel Moolraj to make good the payment of the eighteen lakhs, and of seven lakhs of arrears, due from him, according to the terms of his contract for the management of Mooltan. They agreed that he should continue as Nazim, if he acceded to these demands; but that, in the event of his refusal, troops should be sent against him, and he should be removed from his office. Moolraj demurred, and troops were sent to coerce him. He, then, applied to the Resident at Lahore to intercede with the Durbar, in his behalf, expressing his willingness to conform to any course that the Resident might think proper, and to come in person to Lahore to settle his accounts. It was, accordingly, arranged, by the Resident, that the Dewan's safety should be guaranteed, and that he should visit Lahore, and endeavour to come to an understanding with the Durbar. On the 9th of October, 1846, Moolraj, accompanied by Dewan Deena Nath, who had been sent to him on the part of the Durbar, arrived at Lahore. A satisfactory negotiation ensued, and, before the end of the month, every difference was amicably adjusted. Mr. John Lawrence's* letter of the 3rd of November, 1846, contains the particulars of the agreement with the Dewan. Of the balance due by him, he paid down eight lakhs, and gave a bond for the payment of the remainder by instalments. The gross revenues of Mooltan being estimated at nearly thirty-five lakhs, of which the Dewan had, hitherto, paid to the Durbar between fifteen and sixteen lakhs, it was settled that certain districts, yielding nearly eight lakhs, of which the Lahore troops had lately dispossessed Moolraj, should be severed from his control, and that, from the remaining gross revenues of twenty-seven lakhs, he should, in future, make good to the Durbar, 19,68,000 rupees per annum. Mr. Lawrence thus describes the spirit in which each party regarded this settlement :

"The Durbar are well pleased, for, by our assistance and intervention, they have restrained, and brought to obedience, a refractory vassal, recovered a heavy balance, which, like that due from other Dewans in charge of provinces, appeared to be, otherwise, hopeless, and have gained a large increase of revenue. . . . Dewan Moolraj is well pleased, for he has escaped, with life and honor, from a merciless enemy, with whom he was evidently overmatched, in spite of his slight success (he was successful against the Lahore troops at first), and is continued in the government of a fruitful country. He stood out for better terms, but was evidently glad at those he obtained; indeed he both said so, and showed, by his bearing, that he thought as much." The term of the new agreement was three years. On the 30th of October, Moolraj took leave of the Resident. "He asked me," says Mr. Lawrence, "to put my signature to the documents that had been drawn up between him and the Lahore Government. I told him that I could merely do so as a witness, not as guaranteeing them, and then only at the request of both parties. The Dewan remarked that he had been anxious to have had the affair settled for seven years, or until the Maharajah arrived at years of maturity, but that the Raja had agreed to no more than three years, and that without my signature. I replied, that the British officers were here as mediators, and not as masters, and, therefore, ought to do nothing but with the consent of both parties."

* Mr. Lawrence was temporarily on duty at Lahore, in the room of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence.

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upon Mooltan, and intimates his opinion that, as a military operation, it is highly inexpedient, if not impracticable.

We are far from wishing to throw on the Resident, or the Commander-in-chief, the responsibility of having decided this important question. We desire, therefore, to express our entire concurrence in the views expressed by his Excellency, and by the Resident at Lahore.

We are fully sensible how important it is that this rebellion against the State of Lahore, should, forthwith, be repressed, and that the insult offered, and foul treachery shown, to the British power, should be followed by early, and signal, punishment. But, however imminent may be the risk that, if the British troops do not now move, insurrection, apparently successful for a time at Mooltan, may extend its influence over the Punjab, and may cause disturbance and revolt throughout its bounds, we, yet, think that the dangers, which would thence arise to British interests in India, are far less than those which would be created by our being compelled to discontinue operations once begun, before they had been brought to a satisfactory termination; and by the fearful loss among the troops which is anticipated as the consequence of entering on military operations, on the scale required, in such a district as Mooltan, at such a season of the year as this.

We have determined, therefore, not to insist on any such movement at present, but we shall proceed to make the necessary preparations for enabling us, as soon as the season will permit, to enter on operations which we consider imperatively necessary for punishing the causeless rebellion of Moolraj; and for exacting ample reparation, from the State of Lahore, for the insult offered, and the deep injury inflicted on your Government, in the base murder of your faithful servants, through the treachery, desertion, and crime of the servants of the Maharajah of Lahore.

The Resident is taking every proper precaution against the spread of an insurrectionary spirit over the other parts of the Punjab. His measures, with this view, have our entire approval.

We shall not fail to keep you informed of every circumstance of any interest regarding the further proceedings of Moolraj, and the success which may attend the attempts he is making to collect followers under the standard of rebellion.

Inclosure 1 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to Dewan Moolraj, Nazim of Mooltan.

Anarkullee, March 8, 1848.

WITH this letter you will receive a roobukaree, dated March 8th, 1848, regarding the important question of your resignation, or retention, of your Government; consider its contents well, and let your reply be forwarded, as quickly as possible, to me in Durbar.

Roobukaree.

The replies of Dewan Moolraj, Nazim of Mooltan, to two purwannas from Mr. John Lawrence, were this day laid before me, in Durbar, in the presence of Raja Tej Sing, Raja Deena Nath, Raja Shere Sing, Fakeer Noorooddeen, and Sirdar Uttur Sing, Kaleewala.

The two purwannas, and the following roobukaree, containing a statement drawn up by Mr. John Lawrence, of what had passed between the Nazim and himself, were then read.

Statement.

A petition from the Nazim of Mooltan was read before me, yesterday, in which he gave utterance to the state of his feelings, referring to verbal expressions made use of by me, at the time of his leaving Lahore, to the effect, "that nothing was to be done derogatory to his honor, that charges on matters connected with his Government would not be entertained, and that complete accounts for one year must be rendered," and concluding with anxious inquiries as to his future maintenance. Now, at the

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friendly letter, accompanied by another in English. When I received this, I was well content, and now my desire is, that my honor may remain untouched.

With regard to the order which was given, for the production of the papers of the last nine or ten years, I replied, that I trusted I might only be called on for those concerning my one year of Government. For, through my incessant application to matters of business, the papers connected with my father's Government had been neglected, and been eaten by ants. Some few, which still exist in a box, are utterly spoiled, and nothing can be made of them; and all those pertaining to the eastern districts, were lost during the disturbances. My life is at your disposal. After once sending in my resignation, of what use could these papers be to me? Moreover, my happiness consists in doing good service to the State, and in obedience to your wishes. At all times, I am anxious for the care of the province and the people, both in obedience to your orders, and out of regard for my own good name. But the district of Jhung is infested with plunderers, and, from their example, and in their name, others are beginning to do the same. I have sent a force to punish them; but it cannot go beyond the boundaries of my own province, without permission. The people of these districts have but little thought for the future. I do my very utmost in obedience to my instructions, and will continue to do so. The whole facts of the case must be well known to you. In everything, I trust to your friendship, and am only solicitous for the preservation of my honor, and for future provision. If there should be any balance of revenue for the two last harvests, or any outlay for the army, &c., after March 11, 1848, these sums should be deducted.

Inclosure 3 in No. 26.

The Lahore Durbar to Dewan Moolraj.

Lahore, March 24, 1848.

YOUR petition, tendering your resignation of the government of the province of Mooltan, has been received, and read. With the consent of Sir F. Currie, Bart., the Durbar have accepted your resignation. In a few days, a Sirdar, and a British officer, will be appointed to the charge. You will remain, until the province shall have been entirely made over to their care. On receiving an order to that effect from the Durbar, with the Resident's consent, you will return hither, as directed. In proportion to the good faith and trustworthiness exhibited by you, in making over all necessary papers to those officers, will be the favor with which you will be regarded, and the friendly disposition with which the Durbar, acting on the Resident's advice, will be prepared to enter on the consideration of your future maintenance.

All the troops, in forts, or in posts, artillery, infantry, and cavalry, who are, up to the present time, in your service, and present under arms, will be paid by the Lahore Government, from the 1st Cheryt, 1906. (March 11th, 1848.) Recognise the authority of our seals, and obey it. Assure yourself of the high consideration of Government.

Inclosure 4 in No. 26.

The Lahore Durbar to Sirdar Khan Sing Man.

Lahore, March 31, 1848.

THE Lahore Durbar, by the advice of Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., Resident, have appointed Sirdar Khan Sing Man to the government of the province of Mooltan, with the districts of Munkera, Dera Ghazee Khan, Mittunkote, Sunkur, Hundajul, and North and South Chuch, in the room of Dewan Moolraj, the former Nazim. The Sirdar is, in concert with Mr. Agnew, who goes thither on the part of the Resident, to govern in accordance with the following detailed instructions, and to be zealous in the performance of his duties, with good will and activity.

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follows :—The amount due is 2,81,000 rupees ; of this sum, send 2,00,000 rupees to General Cortlandt and Bukshee Sube Race, and to the agent of Misr Megraj, to Dera Ismael Khan, for the payment of troops and establishments, for the months of Phagon 1904, and Cheyt, 1905. Keep the balance of 81,000 rupees, for necessary charges, and for paying the arrears of the troops who are to be discharged.

The natives of the province are clever at office work : you should employ them, and instruct them in your rules and regulations, and methods of doing business. If you deem it necessary, entertain three or four individuals who are acquainted with the routine duties, either from hence, or elsewhere, for the courts of justice, collection of revenue, and the distribution and pay of the troops. A treasurer and banker will be appointed by Misr Megraj. You will pay them their salaries, according to separate detailed instructions which you will receive. The amount will be authorized.

Your salary, for the office of Governor of Mooltan, has been fixed at 30,000 rupees per annum, commencing from the 1st Bisak, (11th of April, 1848,) as follows :—

	Rs.
Your original jagheer - - - -	12,000
In addition, for the Governorship of Mooltan	18,000
	<hr/>
Total - - -	Rs. 30,000

The following is a list of pensioners, and jagheerdars, and holders of Dhurmuths, who have been in the enjoyment of their respective grants, from the time of Maharajahs Runjeet Sing, Khurruck Sing, and Shere Sing, up to the Khureef harvest of 1904. Send an accurate account of each individually, and act according to the directions you will receive.

(Here follow the names, 11 in all.)

Should there be any matters which appear to be required to be especially brought to the notice of the Government, after consultation with Mr. Agnew, report the particulars to the Durbar. Directions for your guidance will be issued, by the Durbar, in conformity with the advice of the Resident.

Inclosure 5 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to P. A. Vans Agnew, Esq., Assistant to the Resident.

Lahore, March 28, 1848.

I AM afraid that the practice of giving, and receiving, presents at native Durbars, cannot be altogether done away. It is a time-honored custom, to which great importance is attached ; and your policy must be to conciliate, and to maintain all native institutions, and customs, when they are not incompatible with the interests of the Government, or justice to the people.

You should restrict the practice, as much as possible, to state occasions, and endeavour that your return presents may equal in value those you receive.

Inclosure 6 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to Mr. Agnew.

Lahore, April 5, 1848.

SIRDAR KHAN SING MAN, Bahadoor, has been appointed by the Durbar, with my concurrence, as Nazim of Mooltan, and the Sirdar has been directed to proceed, forthwith, to assume charge of the Government.

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to be feared, act as a total prohibition to the trade, or turn its course to Shikarpore, and Kelat.

I have discussed this point with Misr Sahib Dyal, but he thinks that our system of open rowannahs, for a fixed period, or of drawback on exports, could never be adopted, with the unscrupulous traders, and dishonest officials, with whom we have to deal. The subject is not an easy one.

Inclosure 7 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, April 6, 1848.

HAVING now been just one month in charge of the administration of the Lahore territories, I submit such observations as I think it may be useful to record, on the state of things as I found them, and a report of the principal circumstances that have occurred, since I reached Lahore.

Considerations of a domestic nature rendered it inconvenient for Mr. J. Lawrence to leave Lahore, immediately upon my joining. Of this I was not sorry, as so much had been attempted, and was still in progress of accomplishment, of change and reformation in all departments, during the last five or six months, under his immediate control and guidance, that I felt it would be of much advantage to me to have him, for a time, to discuss, and explain, the various measures he had introduced, with the causes of their introduction; and that it would also be beneficial that he should have the opportunity of concluding some of the proceedings in which I found him actively engaged.

I requested him to continue his labors in re-modelling the establishments, and in fixing the several judicial, revenue, and police jurisdictions of the Baree Doab, according to the system in each department which he had introduced, and which it is obvious no one could accomplish so satisfactorily, with a view to the success of his schemes, as himself.

I, also, suggested that he should draw up a general report of the settlement operations that had been conducted under his orders; with the financial result, as far as he could give it.

Both these he has done; and he submitted his settlement report* direct to you, just before leaving Lahore.

Perfect tranquillity prevails, at present, throughout all the territories under the Lahore Government; and I have no reason to think that the apparent contentment of the people is other than real. We have now, or have had during the cold months, British officers, in all parts of the country; and the impression seems general that all classes are satisfied at the present state of things; in those villages, chiefly in the Manjha, to which numbers of the disbanded soldiery have returned, we sometimes hear of prophetic rumours being circulated, of a day coming when the Sikhs are again to be brought into collision with the British, and with a different result from the last; but, beyond this idle and infrequent talk, there is nothing to indicate that the return of the Khalsa independence is either expected, or desired.

The universal civility, and kindness, with which all Europeans of all ranks and callings, whether officials, or travellers, or sportsmen, are treated, is very remarkable.

Mr. J. Lawrence's several dispatches, written during the last few months, have mentioned the measures which have been adopted, since he came to Lahore, in August last, for introducing improved systems of administration, in all the departments of the State. The effect of these measures has, doubtless, been to transfer the administration of the country, from the hands of the Durbar to our own, to a much greater extent than was contemplated, when the introduction of the new arrangements was, at first determined on; and the conduct of all details, even the most minute, in all departments, except that of account, devolves, now, on the Resident and his subordinates.

The whole system of revenue administration, and agricultural management, has been changed, by the substitution of money payments, and a fixed annual demand, for a collection of revenue in kind, according to the amount of produce.

Any one, at all acquainted with the duties of a collector's office, and the constitution of the village communities in India, will feel what an important undertaking this was, and how it must affect all classes of agricultural interests.

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* H. Hems, S. J.: *La Préhistoire proto-indique au des fragments Amhariques* 1, p. 561. Barcelon, 1939. B. Hroany, *Über die älteste Völkerentwicklung und über die Probleme der proto-indischen Zivilisation* 1, p. 24, 1939. Jorge Quintanilla Vives, *Aportaciones a la interpretación de la escritura proto-indica*. Madrid, 1948.

An attempt has been made to introduce an anna postage, throughout all the districts of the Punjab, but, hitherto, success has not attended the measure. Hurkaras have only been posted on the few great lines of roads, and, though the transmission of letters and parcels by private hands was strictly prohibited, under very heavy penalties, no means were adopted for carrying letters to the villages in the interior, or away from the general lines. Much dissatisfaction was the very obvious result—especially among the soldiers on distant commands, who seem as fond, as they are in our own provinces, of sending letters to their homes. A remedy for this was adopted by Mr. Lawrence, shortly before giving over charge, but it is one of too expensive a kind to answer, involving the charge of half an anna per coss, (one and a half miles) on each letter, intended for a village off the line, in addition to the anna postage.

The state of the army seems satisfactory, but the troops are still kept longer in arrears, at times, than is expedient, owing to the exhausted state of the treasury. The subject is one that is never lost sight of.

The reduction of the irregular cavalry is proceeding gradually—we have an inspection at the Residency, nearly every morning, all recent additions, and inefficient men, or horses, being got rid of, with a gratuity according to their cases, and old worn-out soldiers pensioned, under the rules lately introduced.

I now proceed to mention the state in which I found the question of the future administration of Mooltan, and the arrangement I have made for its government and management.

Mr. John Lawrence, in his letter, dated 27th* of December last, described the communications which had taken place between Dewan Moolraj and himself, and the mode in which he purposed acting upon them—if the Governor-General in Council approved. At Moolraj's request, the negotiations were kept secret, and were not communicated, by either party, to the Durbar. On Mr. Lawrence receiving the orders of Government, to let the matter lie over till my arrival, he wrote a letter to Moolraj, saying that I was coming to relieve him, and asking him, if it was his desire that Mr. Lawrence should make any, and what, communication to me.

Moolraj replied to this letter, that he desired to abide by the agreement he had entered into with Mr. Lawrence, and that what was already written was sufficient, viz., (and here the common Punjabee unscrupulousness shewed itself) that his resignation from the close of the late Khureef harvest should be accepted, that his honor and dignity should be guaranteed, that no charges against him should be listened to, that he should be only required to give one year's papers, and that a fitting provision should be made for him, for his future life.

Mr. Lawrence received this letter, the day I arrived, and placed it in my hands—he stated, that he had, of course, made no such guarantee, as Moolraj asserted, that he had merely told him, in general terms, that the Government always respected the honor of honorable men, and that he must give, at least, nine or ten years' collection papers, to enable the new comers to make a fair settlement.

The paper, given to Moolraj, was with him in Mooltan; the paper, given by Moolraj to Mr. Lawrence, was unfortunately lost, and Mr. Lawrence feared that it might have been burnt, when the fire of the thatch of a part of the Residency took place, in the cold weather, and many papers were destroyed.

It was, at this time, privately intimated to me (and that by his own vakeel) that Dewan Moolraj did not really desire to relinquish his government, if he was left, as heretofore, undisturbed; but that he was alarmed by the report that Adaw-lutees were to be established in the province, and that inducements were held out, by his enemies, to make complaints against him.

Thus, the only records that appeared, on which I could act, were Mr. Lawrence's letter to Moolraj, asking him what he wished should be said to me, and Moolraj's reply, referring to a document which was not forthcoming, either in original, or in copy, regarding a transaction which he had requested, and continued to request, might remain secret, till it was completed.

I considered that the proper course to be pursued, at this juncture, was to summon the Councillors, and lay before the Durbar, the circumstances, exactly as they stood, and the two letters. This I did—Mr. Lawrence being present, and laying

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which have been made in all departments, there seems little hope of the income meeting the expenditure, including the British demand, by many lakhs of rupees. This is the only real difficulty that I see, in the administration, and it is a subject that has my constant and anxious consideration.

The provinces of Peshawur, Bunnoo, Hazara, and the Sind Sagur Doab, where British Officers are located, remain in the same satisfactory state as last reported by Mr. Lawrence: there has been a slight movement at Jhung in the Reehma Doab, caused by collision between the Hindoos and Mahomedans, but it is reported to be unimportant, and to have been, already, put down.

The Ranee is little heard of. I have had several communications from her, complaining, as usual, of being removed from the Government, and of the machinations of her enemies. I am assured that her assertions of close confinement, and unkind usage, and unpalatable diet, are without foundation. She is subject to stricter surveillance than at first, doubtless, owing to her having abused the liberty allowed her of free intercourse with persons visiting Sheikhoopoor; and no persons beyond her establishment, are allowed access to her; but, in the employment of her time, the expenditure of her allowance, and the quantity, or quality, of her food, no interference is exercised.

Inclosure 8 in No. 26.

Mr. Agnew to the Resident at Lahore,

Edga, close to Mooltan, April 14, 1848.

WE reached the Mooltan Ghat, at eleven o'clock, yesterday morning.

This morning, we joined our force here, and were visited by Dewan Moolraj. He said all that was loyal and polite; but, as our tents, &c. were still behind, I begged him to come again for business at three o'clock.

I do not know what has put into Sirdar Khan Sing's head some imagination that we had better get the fort into our hands as soon as we can; but, in any case, it is right to lose no time in the transfer. Everything seems to bear out the character Mooltan has always borne for peace and quietness.

The fort is by far the most imposing I have seen in India, and is, I dare say, one of the strongest.

We mean to go in, to-morrow morning, with two companies, whom I shall quietly put in charge of one of the gates, until we can ascertain who, among the present garrison, are worth keeping. It would be, perhaps, going into the extreme, and alarm the rest of the sepoy, to change the garrison at once altogether.

Our voyage down was, as usual, very uninteresting, as we passed all the day in our boats, except what was necessary for a hasty meal. In our morning walk along the bank, however, and when we passed the night near a village, we found those we met contented as Zemindars ever are by their own admission.

I write to-day, only to avoid a blank day among the first after my arrival, but my business will be to-morrow. I can also hardly write for interruptions.

Our regiment mustered, this morning, under arms, about 350 (of 489 fighting men) artillery 80, and cavalry 100, instead of 200, as several of these men (the regular cavalry) have been kept by different Sirdars and others.

Inclosure 9 in No. 26.

Mr. Agnew to the Resident at Lahore.

Mooltan, April 19, 1848.

YOU will be sorry to hear that, as Anderson and I were coming out of the fort gate, after having received charge of the fort from Dewan Moolraj, we were attacked by a couple of soldiers, who, taking us unawares, succeeded in wounding us both pretty sharply. Anderson is worst off, poor fellow; he has a severe wound in the thigh, another on the shoulder, one on the back of the neck, and one on the face. I think it most necessary that a doctor should be sent down, though I hope not to need

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motion at once, unless the nature of the intelligence received to-night should render counter orders advisable.

Dewan Moolraj is an officer of the Sikh Government; he is in rebellion, if in rebellion at all, to the Sikh Durbar, and the orders of that Government. The coercion must come from the Sikh Government, unaided by British troops, if possible.

If it should be necessary to move a British soldier, the affair will be a serious one for the Durbar; but this will not, I am pretty sure, be the case.

I will write to your Lordship again on the subject, to-morrow.

A sub-assistant surgeon, with medicines, dressings, and all appurtenances, followed Mr. Agnew to Mooltan, five days after he left. If, by the next accounts, more surgical aid should appear necessary, I will send down an assistant surgeon.

The Durbar are evidently, one and all, most vexed and troubled at this affair. The members of the Council all came to me, within an hour of the news being received, and are most desirous to do anything I might direct, collectively and individually, to meet the emergency.

Inclosure 11 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to the Governor-General.

Lahore, April 22, 1848.

I HAVE but little to tell you, to-day, of the Mooltan affair. There was a post, in the night, but it brought no letter from Mr. Agnew. There was a more detailed account, from Sirdar Khan Sing, of what happened during the 19th, up to the evening, when the dispatch was sent off.

This account differs, in some details, from the former. The gun which was fired on Moolraj's return to his camp, (he also is in camp outside the city) is accounted for—it was not, I believe, shotted. The affair does not appear to have been a premeditated one, as far as I can make out; and Moolraj's active concern in it is doubtful; his conduct, however, according to our present accounts, is very suspicious; at any rate, there was much excitement among the troops, and prompt measures to put down the disturbance are necessary. I have put in motion upon Mooltan, from different points, 7 battalions of infantry, 2 of regular cavalry, 3 troops and batteries of artillery, and 1,200 irregular horse. These will proceed on their way, or be stopped, according to the accounts I receive in the next twenty-four hours. A separate account of all expenses will be kept, and be charged to Moolraj, who has seventy lakhs of rupees, the plunder of the province, as his share in the division of the property of the late Dewan.

The fort of Mooltan is very strong, and full of heavy cannon of large calibre. This cannot be taken possession of by force. Except the Mooltan garrison, Moolraj has not many troops, and only five or six field guns. He is very unpopular both with the army and the people; and it is generally thought, by the natives, that he has been urged to what he has done by the machinations of unfriends, who desire to make him compromise himself with us, to effect his ruin.

Khan Sing writes of the wounds of the officers as by no means dangerous.

I hope to have a letter from Mr. Agnew to-night.

Inclosure 12 in No. 26.

Statement of Jemadar Kesra Sing, servant of Mr. Vans Agnew.

ON the 22nd April, Jemadar Kesra Sing came to me (Peer Ibraheem Khan) at Bahawulpore, and gave me the following statement.

On the 17th of April, in the morning, Mr. Vans Agnew, accompanied by Lieutenant Anderson, and Sirdar Khan Sing Man, arrived at the landing-place called Rajghat, at Mooltan.

Megraj, Dewan Moolraj's moonshee, came to pay his respects, and stated that the Dewan had sent an elephant to convey the party wherever they might wish to pitch their camp. Mr. Vans Agnew said, "We will encamp here to-day, and to-morrow, if Sirdar Khan Sing approves, will take up our quarters in the Edga."

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Bunnoo, which were sent off through the news-writer; at the same time, he sent information to Peer Ibraheem Khan at Bahawulpore.

At nine o'clock, he sent a message to the Dewan, informing him that he did not consider that the Dewan was to blame for what had taken place. In an hour and a half, an old moonshee came, on the part of the Dewan, and said, that his master had intended to pay him a visit, but had been prevented by the sepoy, who had even wounded Rungram, a relation of the Dewan. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked, that he did not attach any blame to the Dewan, but desired that the soldiers who had wounded himself and Lieutenant Anderson, might be seized, and imprisoned.

The moonshee observed, that the Dewan would, certainly, make his appearance before evening. In the evening, a follower of the Dewan arrived, and stated, that his master could not, just then, make his appearance, but would come, as soon as it might be in his power.

His arrival was expected during the whole night. In the evening, Sirdar Khan Sing, Colonel Esra Sing, of the artillery, and the other colonel, commanding the Goorka regiment, remarked, that it was strange that the Dewan did not arrive, and expressed a suspicion that he intended to create a disturbance.

Mr. Vans Agnew said, that it would be advisable to leave the Edga, and encamp in a place where they would be beyond the reach of the guns in the fort; to which the Sikh officers replied, that the Edga would stand battering from balls, and that water and provisions were both procurable, which, perhaps, they might not be in any other situation.

Mr. Vans Agnew agreed with them.

On the 20th of April, at nine o'clock, a gun was fired from the fort, which struck the mosque where the British officers were. The Sikh officers came up to Mr. Vans Agnew, and said, "You observed, that you did not think that the Dewan was to blame; there can be no doubt about it now." Mr. Vans Agnew remarked, "We must now look after our own protection." The Sikh officers said, that the whole of the troops under them would sacrifice their lives in his service. They then went off to take measures for the defence of their several positions; while, about this time, shots began to pour in from the guns in the fort. Mr. Vans Agnew said to Khan Sing, "What ammunition have you?" He replied, "Enough for three or four days." Mr. Vans Agnew advised the Sirdar not to fire a gun so long as the guns were being served from the fort; but to commence, as soon as the Dewan's soldiers quitted it. The golundauzes of the fort took two of their guns to a raised place, to the south of the Edga, from whence they served their guns. Colonel Esra Sing, however, brought his guns to bear on it, and they were obliged to remove theirs. In the afternoon, four or five guns were again brought up to the same place, while others were taken to the east of the Edga. The artillerymen in the Edga continued their firing.

A man then came, on the part of Moolraj, to Colonel Esra Sing, with the following message: "The Dewan desires you to stop your firing, and to pay him a visit." The Colonel informed Mr. Vans Agnew, on which that officer remarked, that no confidence was to be placed in the Dewan's word; but that, if he would silence his own guns, and send one of his confidants, Mr. Vans Agnew would hold an interview with him. After the man had taken his departure, and rejoined the Dewan's troops, the firing was renewed, with greater vigor than ever, and continued till evening, on both sides. Two golundauzes in the Edga were wounded, as well as several horses; and an akalee's son was killed on the other side. After dark, an attack was made by all the troops on the Edga, on the east, west, and south sides.

Colonel Esra Sing and his artillerymen, then, went over to the enemy.

Sirdar Khan Sing, immediately, informed Mr. Vans Agnew, that these troops had joined the Dewan's soldiers. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked, that there was no remedy. When the Dewan's people approached the mosque, Sirdar Khan Sing said, "There is nothing left now, but to die." Mr. Vans Agnew recommended him, if it should be the Dewan's wish, to hold an interview with him, as there was now no remedy, the troops having gone over, and resistance would involve an unnecessary loss of life.

Sirdar Khan Sing, then, advanced ten paces, and begged for quarter.

A soldier upon this fired at him, but without hitting him. The Sirdar then fired a pistol at him in return.

The other sepoy then seized the Sirdar, and began to plunder the place. Mr. Vans Agnew, by the assistance of Kesra Sing, raised himself up, and shaking hands

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seized a Lahore messenger, and brought him before Moolraj, who took from him all his papers, and gave orders for cutting off, entirely, all communication between Mooltan and Lahore.

The officers, in command of the cavalry, were directed to send out patrols on the Lahore. Bahawulpore, and Dera Ghazee Khan roads, with orders to intercept all messengers.

The Dewan then wrote to his brother, Sham Sing, governor of the district of Shooja-abad, directing him to take, at once, into his service all the soldiers he could collect, and to send them to Mooltan.

From the day of the disturbance, the Dewan has been busily employed in getting together, and inspecting, his troops, in laying in stores, and in collecting money.

The kardars of Mooltan have been instructed to levy, at once, the first instalment of the spring crop. The zemindars seem disposed to try to evade paying the revenue.

Inclosure 16 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to the Governor-General.

Lahore, April 25, 1848.

IN my letter of yesterday, I told your Lordship that, if I heard nothing, before sunset, of the fate of the British officers, Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson, and the new Governor of Mooltan, with the Sikh escort, I should address to the General commanding the Lahore division, an official application for a British force, to move towards Mooltan.

I received no intelligence, and in the evening, therefore, I sent to Major-General Whish the letter, of which the inclosure is a copy.

Finding that the General did not propose sending any heavy guns with the column, I intended, to-day, to explain to him that I considered the demonstration incomplete without them, and that for active operations it would be ineffective.

This morning, I received information, via Bahawulpore, of the sad proceedings at Mooltan, which quite alter the aspect of affairs.

I inclose, for your Lordship's information, the statement of the distressing and disgraceful transactions, sent to me by Peer Ibraheem Khan, the British agent at Bahawulpore.

Your Lordship will, with me, feel the deepest indignation and regret at the cowardly and treacherous destruction of these most promising and valuable young officers.

But, as I said before, the whole nature of the case is altered by this narrative.

I had determined, at all hazards, under the emergency of the case, to support the Durbar troops, and Sirdars, in coercing an officer in rebellion against the Sikh Government, and the British authorities, and offering armed opposition to those troops.

Your Lordship will observe, that the Durbar troops, to a man, went over to the rebellious force; the Sirdar made terms for himself; and the British officers were left to be cruelly butchered, being the only individuals of the whole party who were injured.

We may expect that the other troops of the Durbar, marching on Mooltan, may act a similar part, and that the British reserve, sent to support and succour, would find itself opposed to supposed friends, and foes, united together against it.

I could not consent, under any circumstances, to send a British force on such an expedition, whatever may be the result, and consequences of the state of things which will follow, to the continuance of the Sikh Government.

I have intimated to the General that the British column will not be moved, now, on the service mentioned in my letter of yesterday.

That condign punishment must be visited on those who have committed this perfidious outrage and insult to the British Government, is indispensable; but, at this season of the year, operations of the magnitude which will now be required, and at such a distance as Mooltan from our reserves and magazines, cannot, I fear, be thought of.

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But the question is one which very deeply concerns the British interests, apart from all considerations connected with our Treaty, with the Maharajah's Government, at Bhyrowal.

If this outrage and insult to the British Government be not punished, and that speedily—if Dewan Moolraj is allowed to extend his machinations for rebellion and revolt,—we may expect that the Affghans will take advantage of the state of things, and of Moolraj's invitation and encouragement, to establish themselves upon the Indus.

If general tumult and disturbance spread through the Punjab, moreover, there is reason to fear that the Cis-Sutlej territory, under Major Mackeson's Commissionership, will not remain quiet: there are thousands of the late Sikh soldiery in the Manjha, who will aid Moolraj by every means in their power; they are giving out, generally, that Moolraj is the person, indicated in the prophecies of their priesthood, who is to restore the Khalsa supremacy.

I have addressed the Commander-in-chief, stating the political urgency of the case, and consulting him as to the possibility of undertaking military operations, on the scale required, at this season of the year.

I send, for your Lordship's information, and any orders the Supreme Government may desire to give, a copy of my letter, just written to the Commander-in-chief.

I must beg your Lordship to consider these letters as addressed to you in Council. They contain all the information I have to furnish, and if I am to write an official narrative of the occurrences of the past week, it would only be a recapitulation of what I have reported to your Lordship daily.

I have not time to prepare such a document; I am overwhelmed with references, night and day; every chief has to receive his separate instructions from myself, over and over again; if my health were to fail under the work, there is not a person here to give a single direction of any kind. I intend, therefore, should the necessity arise, to apply for the co-operation of Mr. John Lawrence; a step of which I hope your Lordship will approve.

P.S.—I have just discovered in the office a memorandum of the Fort of Mooltan, with a sketch made by Lieutenant Anderson, in September last, the officer who was killed there, on the 20th instant, with Mr. Vans Agnew; a copy of the memorandum and sketch was sent to Government, with Mr. Lawrence's letter of the 22d of September.

Inclosure 18 in No. 26.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, April 27, 1848.

I HAD the honor to write to your Lordship, by express, the day before yesterday, sending you an extract from my letter of that date to Lord Dalhousie, stating the circumstances under which I had determined to forego my intention of marching the moveable column from Lahore, to aid the Durbar troops in putting down the disturbances in Mooltan.

In the other part of my letter to the Governor-General, I reported that I had recalled to Lahore the chiefs who had marched that morning, to communicate to them the intelligence which had reached me after they had left, and to explain to them that, in the altered state of the case, I could not consent to send a British force, in support of troops who had proved themselves so treacherous.

The chiefs returned to Lahore, yesterday; and I had them with me till late last night.

They, distinctly, declare themselves, without the aid of a British force, unable to take measures to reduce the fort of Mooltan, into which Moolraj has thrown himself, and without the reduction of which, the rebellion cannot be put down.

As a question of British policy, unconnected with that of the Punjab administration, and the interests of the Sikh Government, it is a matter of the last importance, that the rebellion on that frontier should be put down, with as little delay as possible. The consequences of revolt and rebellion spreading on this frontier,

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stances imperatively call for prompt and decisive measures, and I should not have shrunk from recommending a movement, could I have conceived that, by so doing, the lives of the two officers who have been sacrificed, could have been saved, or a body of troops rescued. Neither of those objects is now, unfortunately, to be attained: but from what you state in your letter, corroborated by Burnes and Elphinstone, there can be no doubt, that operations against Mooltan, at the present advanced period of the year, would be uncertain, if not altogether impracticable; whilst a delay in attaining the object, would entail a fearful loss of life to the troops engaged, most injurious in its moral effects, and highly detrimental to those future operations which must, I apprehend, be undertaken.

It is, therefore, unnecessary to enter upon the many difficulties and delays, consequent upon assembling a force, at this side of the Sutlej, to undertake the reduction of Mooltan, at this season; and I entirely concur in the inexpediency of weakening Lahore, under the very uncertain disposition of the Sikh army which you describe.

No. 27.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

Fort William, June 3, 1848. (No. 50.)

AN event has occurred at Lahore, of a serious character indeed, but which has tended, in the result, to strengthen the British influence, and to improve the hope that the general tranquillity of the country may be preserved, until the season shall admit of operations against Mooltan. The Resident, in a letter of the 9th ultimo*, informed us, "that a sensation had been created in the city, by the detection of a conspiracy to corrupt the fidelity of the native soldiers of the infantry, artillery, and irregular cavalry, and the seizure of the offenders." His letter of the 11th ultimo† conveys the intelligence of the execution, that morning, of two men,—one, an unemployed General of the Sikh army, named Khan Sing; the other, Gunga Ram, the confidential vakeel of the Maharanee Junda Khore,—who were convicted "of tampering with the native troops of the garrison of Lahore, and cantonment of Anarkullee, and endeavouring to induce them to join in a plan for the surprise of the town, and the expulsion of the British troops."

For the particulars of the manner in which this plot was brought to light, we refer you to Sir F. Currie's letter of the 11th idem.

We have not yet received the detailed proceedings of the investigation; but all circumstances of importance connected with the conspiracy have, doubtless, been mentioned by the Resident. We shall notice them briefly. It is highly satisfactory to observe, that the first intimation of the affair was given to a British officer (Major Wheler) by two men of his corps (the 7th Irregular Cavalry) who had themselves been tampered with, and were indignant at the base attempt to corrupt their fidelity. The small success of the conspirators, in their endeavours to seduce the troops from allegiance, might be augured from this circumstance; and the result has proved, Sir F. Currie writes, "that but comparatively few of the Sepoys have listened to the overtures of the conspirators. I do not think that the number can exceed twenty or twenty-five, and it is very doubtful whether these, though they made promises, and received rewards, had really any serious intention of keeping those promises, and acting against the British Government. There have been eight or nine desertions, I believe, since the arrest of the conspirators, and three Sepoys are about to be put on their trial."

The trial of the conspirators was conducted by the Resident, in concert with the Durbar. Four men were convicted on the clearest evidence, and sentenced to be hanged; the sentence on one of them was commuted to transportation for life; and its execution suspended in the case of one of the others, from whom valuable information was elicited.

The most important fact established by the inquiry, was the implication of the

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† Inclosure 19 in No. 27.

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The conspiracy to corrupt the fidelity of the troops seems to have had no connection with the rebellion in Mooltan, although it is far from improbable that the Maharanee, as she was certainly the prime instigator of the one, may also have been the moving spring of the other. The conspiracy, however, was evidently a proceeding independent of the rebellion, for the first intimation of it was given to Major Wheler, on the 18th of March, at which time the arrangement for the change of administration in Mooltan, which was the occasion of the outbreak, had not been finally determined on. This corroborates the confession of one of the conspirators, Bhace Gunga Ram, the night before his execution, that the plot had been long hatching; that is, as he explained, "from about the time that Sir F. Currie arrived at Agra, on his way up to Lahore." Gunga Ram declared also, as did another of the conspirators, that the Maharanee had been in correspondence with the chiefs of the Durbar; "that all the Sirdars, save Tej Sing, great and small, were in league with her; and that the force which was going down to Mooltan, was not going to oppose Moolraj, but would unite with him, when occasion offered." Gunga Ram further said: "that all that had lately taken place at Mooltan, was at the Ranee's suggestion, and that Sirdar Khan Sing Man had been at the bottom of the plot against Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson*."

The Resident, in his letter of the 15th of May, referring to this confession, writes: "But little credit is to be attached to the statement made by the Maharanee's vakeel, on the night before his execution, to Lieutenant Hodson; that the Maharanee had written letters to all the parties named by Gunga Ram, is very probable; but I very much doubt if they all of them, or, indeed, if any of them, met with the reception which Gunga Ram described." The simple fact, however, supposing it to be proved, that the Council of State, or some members of it, had cognizance of the Maharanee's designs, which they must have had, if she wrote to them on the subject, is most important. It would amount to a violation of the most essential part of the Treaty of December, 1846,—of that part which provides that the administration of the Lahore State shall be conducted by a Council, acting under the control, and guidance, of the British Resident,—if it should be shown that members of the Council were aware, and yet concealed from the Resident their cognizance, of designs subversive of the British authority at Lahore.

Gunga Ram's declaration of the treachery of Sirdar Khan Sing Man is discredited by the Resident, but it receives some corroboration, from a statement made to Lieutenant Edwardes, by Mustapha Khan, a vakeel, on the part of Dewan Moolraj, of whose mission we shall presently speak more particularly. Mustapha Khan said, as related by Lieutenant Edwardes, in his letter to Sir F. Currie, of the 10th ultimo, "that, of all the troops who escorted the Sahibs from Lahore, but one man had shown fidelity to his salt, viz., the officer of artillery, a tall man, whose name he could not recollect (though I asked if it was Esra Sing), who replied, alike to bribes and threats, that they might blow him away from a gun, but should never induce him to take service with the enemy. Sirdar Khan Sing Man had no such compunctions, but entered readily into the scheme of extensive rebellion, of which the Sikh garrison was resolved to make Moolraj the centre. With the prudence, however, of a man who had seen many revolutions, he himself suggested the propriety of putting him, formally, under a sentry, in order that his Lahore jagheers might not be confiscated, but, perhaps, be doubled, in honor of his martyrdom." In reference to this account, however, Sir F. Currie says, that Khan Sing Man's conduct "is very differently described by numerous eye-witnesses, who have returned from Mooltan, and there is no doubt that he is, up to this time, a close prisoner, in heavy irons, and subject to very hard treatment."

On the question whether the Maharanee was concerned in the late events at Mooltan, as asserted by her Agent, Sir F. Currie writes, in his letter of the 16th ultimo†, "there is no proof, though there is some ground for suspicion, that the Maharanee was the instigator of the late violence and outrage in Mooltan; but it is certain that, at this moment, the eyes of the Dewan Moolraj; and of the whole Sikh army and military population, are directed to the Maharanee, as the rallying point of their rebellion, or disaffection." The riddance of so mischievous a woman, at such a time, and following immediately upon the utter defeat of her deep-laid schemes, cannot but tend to strengthen the British authority at Lahore, by disheartening all those who, being ill-disposed to its continuance, want only encouragement, and the hope of success to resist it.

* Inclosure 20 in No. 27.

† Inclosure 24 in No. 27.

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Moolraj," Sir F. Currie writes, in reply to Lieutenant Edwardes, "throws himself on my justice, he shall have a fair trial, and impartial justice shall be done him. If he can clear himself of all participation in the atrocities of the 19th, 20th, and 21st of last month, and can, satisfactorily, establish that his subsequent conduct has been by coercion, he shall be held scatheless: I believe that it is quite impossible for him to do this."

We considered that no proposal but one of unconditional surrender should be admitted from Moolraj; he has offered a flagrant insult to the British Government; he has participated in, and approved of, the murder of two valued servants of that Government; and he is now a rebel in arms against British authority and power.

We have not yet heard, how Moolraj acted, on receiving Lieutenant Edwardes's proposal. The Resident has no expectation of his accepting it. "Dewan Moolraj, assuredly, will not give himself up to you (Lieutenant Edwardes), or to me, and it is pretty certain he could not, if he would. The instant his Sikh and Belooch followers discovered that he was about to desert, they would murder him, without the slightest compunction."

On the 7th of May, the force which Moolraj had sent to Leia, retreated from that place towards Mooltan, in a hurried manner. This is accounted for, by supposing that the Dewan, believing troops to be advancing against him, was anxious to strengthen his position at Mooltan, as much as possible. The explanation is confirmed by the fact that the rebel force has again moved upon Leia. Lieutenant Edwardes, writing on the 12th of May*, says, "Mustapha Khan told me, that a steamer arriving from Sind, and the report of Bahawul Khan crossing the Sutlej, was what alarmed Moolraj, and made him recall the Leia force. No sooner, therefore, did he find that no operations were, in reality, on foot against him, than he again took courage, and told his army not to recross the Chenab."

On the 11th of May, Lieutenant Edwardes, hearing that the Thannadar of Mungrotah, a strong fort in the Mooltan Trans-Indus territory, was recruiting for Moolraj, sent a detachment against him. The Thannadar immediately fled, and the detachment took possession of the fort. Mungrotah lies between Lieutenant Edwardes's encampment and Dera Ghazee Khan. The object in taking possession of it was to promote the success of a movement, which it was proposed General Cortlandt should make upon Dera Ghazee Khan, to prevent that place falling into the hands of the rebels. Lieutenant Edwardes had intended that General Cortlandt should proceed to occupy Dera Ghazee Khan, while he himself crossed the Indus again, to endeavour to secure the revenue of the Sind Sagur Doab. The plan was suspended, however, as soon as it appeared that the rebel troops were advancing, a second time, upon Leia.

On the evening of the 15th, a party of the rebels, consisting of between 300 and 400 horse, with 10 zumboorahs, came upon a picket which had been stationed by Lieutenant Edwardes near Leia, with orders to retire before a superior force. The picket fell back across a nullah, and Lieutenant Edwardes, thinking they might be pressed, strengthened them in the night by 200 men. The rebels, pushing on to the nullah, were, thus, met by a force larger than they expected, and, a struggle ensuing, were totally routed, "and pursued (says Lieutenant Edwardes in his letter of the 16th) † for a coss or two beyond Leia, losing all their zumboorahs, and 12 men killed, besides several prisoners who took refuge in the city streets, and afterwards gave up their arms. On our side, two men were slightly wounded." After this affair, Lieutenant Edwardes, having ascertained that the rebel force was 6,000 men, with 15 guns, and that they would, probably, cross the Indus to attack him, immediately recalled his men from the other side of the river. The last accounts mention that the enemy had crossed a strong force with 12 guns, about thirty coss to the south of Dera Futtah Khan Ghat, and that Lieutenant Edwardes had determined, with the aid of General Cortlandt, to throw up embankments round the fort of Girang. From Sir F. Currie's letter of the 23rd ultimo‡, it appears that he thinks it probable that the Nawab Bahawul Khan, a firm ally of the British Government, will have thrown his army across the Sutlej; in which case "Moolraj must instantly recall his troops from Leia, or Bahawul Khan, and our force in the Baree Doab, may occupy the town of Mooltan, cut off his returning troops from their fort, and attack them at the ferries of the Chenab."

This is the latest intelligence that has reached us. The force at Lahore has been strengthened, by the addition of a wing of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons, a regi-

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† Inclosure 26 in No. 27.

‡ Inclosure 34 in No. 27.

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a right in the Sikh army that, without it, the men are discontented. There are now in Bunnoo the following corps, of which I forget the exact numbers, but I give them :

Bishun Sing's Regiment	-	-	-	600
Kuthar Mookhee ditto	-	-	-	600
Soobhan Khan's ditto	-	-	-	500
Dogra's ditto	-	-	-	500
$\frac{1}{2}$ Miher Sing's ditto	-	-	-	300
Khos ditto	-	-	-	300

along with me here

Futteh Paltun	ditto	-	-	-	691
Total Infantry					<u>3,491</u>

The Khos regiment is to return to Peshawur, as soon as I get back, along with the Peshawur troop of horse artillery, now in Bunnoo. That reduces the number to 3,191 men. Colonel Lawrence ordered the garrison in Bunnoo to consist of four infantry regiments, of 650 each, or total 2,600 men; and the removal of Soobhan Khan's regiment would just about reduce the infantry to that number. But, not a man could then go on leave. My plan (approved by Mr. John Lawrence, but postponed till the new Army Regulations could come out) was, to keep one extra regiment in Bunnoo, so as to allow a quarter of each of my four regiments to go away on leave for two and a-half months, and then another quarter, when they come back, and so on, until the whole had got their leave; and I should be glad if you could still permit me to make this arrangement, and send a quarter away on leave at once.

The fact is all the regiments are lamentably weak. It is not fair, therefore, to look at the number of regiments in Bunnoo; the number of men is the point. The Khos regiment might go to Mooltan, instead of Peshawur, when I go back to Bunnoo, as I know Mr. Lawrence did send another regiment from Nicholson's brigade to Peshawur, or Hussan Abdal.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dera Futteh Khan, night, April 22, 1848.

AT 3 P.M. this day, an express from Mooltan, directed to General Cortlandt, reached my camp. I opened it, providentially, to see if it was on public business which required attention, and found a letter, addressed to either General Cortlandt or myself, from Mr. Vans Agnew, communicating tidings of the dastardly assault made on that gentleman and Lieutenant Anderson, at the gate of the fort of Mooltan, on the 19th of April, particulars of which have, ere this, reached you.

Mr. Agnew called on General Cortlandt for assistance; and my duty to render it was plain. I have, accordingly, resolved on making a forced march to Mooltan, which is about sixty coss from this, and hope, by midnight, sufficient boats will have been collected, from the neighbouring ferries, to allow the camp to cross the Indus.

I have 2 guns, 20 zumboorahs, 12 infantry companies, and about 350 sowars; a small force, but quite strong enough to create a diversion in favor of our two countrymen, and whatever party the Maharajah may still have in his city of Mooltan. I have written to Mr. Vans Agnew to fall back on me, if he is pressed, and rely on my speedy arrival. From the desert nature of the road, and the intense heat, I do not expect the men will be able to make Mooltan, before the 27th of April, but every exertion shall be made.

Looking to the possibility of the spirit displayed by Moolraj's soldiers being general in Mooltan, and consequent hostilities, I have written to Lieutenant Taylor, in Bunnoo, to put Soobhan Khan's Mussulman regiment (previously told off for Mooltan) and the four remaining guns of the Peshawur troop of Horse Artillery, to which the two guns I have with me belong, into boats at Esakhail, and thus pass them rapidly down the Indus to the Leia ferry, where the men and horses can disembark fresh, and push on to Mooltan.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 27.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Leia, Cis-Indus, April 25, 1848.

I REACHED this place this morning, and have encamped south-east of the city, covering it from Mooltan.

You have, I hope, already got my letters advising you of my determination to cross the Indus, as soon as I heard of the attack on Agnew and Anderson, and move on Mooltan, in the hope of saving them. That hope is declared by general rumour to be hope no more. Agnew and Anderson are said to be both dead; killed by their own men; Khan Sing a prisoner; and Dewan Moolraj going all lengths in preparations to maintain himself in the fort.

This I fully believe, as this Doab is full of his emissaries raising soldiers; and, had I been a day later, I could not have crossed the Indus, instructions having been sent to the Kardar of Leia, to seize the boats, raise 3,000 men, and hold the place.

My crossing took him by surprise, and he fled, with the Leia Thannah, to Mooltan.

Agnew and Anderson dead, and the Sirdar's force either traitors, or prisoners in Mooltan! I have no object in advancing further. Neither could I cross the Chenab, if I wished. Neither would it be prudent to wish it, if I could.

If Mooltan is to be reduced, it must be from Lahore, and by our own British troops; and I hope to God they are already on their way, or the whole of Dera Ghazee Khan will be in insurrection, with Hill tribes summoned by Moolraj. I have written to the Mooltan officers in Ghazee Khan and Sungurh, transferring them to the Sirkar's service, in hopes of quieting their country; but do not anticipate success. Moolraj's service is better than the Sirkar's.

My arrival here has been most timely, and, if I can only hold my own, it will reduce Moolraj to very narrow limits. The rubbee crop is just ripe. I have entertained all Moolraj's officials that had not run away, and set the collections agoing according to the old usages of the land. The shops are re-opened, and confidence is, to a great extent, restored.

Leia is an important city, and the capital of this Doab. Its mere possession by the Sirkar's troops flies through the country and inflicts a blow on Moolraj's prestige, and prevents hundreds of mercenaries from joining his standard. Of this I have hourly proof. Still my position, I cannot but see, is one of great uncertainty and peril. If Moolraj has the spirit and skill to throw a force with guns over the Chenab at once, he might crush us, and return in a canter to Mooltan, before our own troops can come from Lahore. Already, he is said to have done so. I believe the truth to be that he intends to do so. Perhaps, ere this, his force has crossed.

My mind is made up. I shall throw up entrenchments here, and stand. Great ends will be secured by my success; immense confusion follow a retreat.

I am entertaining men, for the double purpose of securing them from joining Moolraj, and holding this Doab against the rebels. The Doab swarms with "Shumsheerees," Beloochees, and Puthans, ever ripe for mischief. The regiment and four guns, which I have summoned from Bunnoo, cannot reach here, till the 7th or 8th of May, and the interval will be one of immense anxiety.

I calculate that you will have sent off our field brigade on the 24th of April, and that it will reach Mooltan in ten days, but trust that will only be the vanguard of a regular army, for the reduction of Mooltan will be no child's play. I know not if you have good information from Mooltan; therefore, I may as well state my views of this affair.

I think Moolraj has been involved in rebellion against his will, and, being a weak man, is now persuaded by his officers that there is no hope for him but in going all lengths; that the origin of the rebellion was the natural dislike of the Puthans, Beloochees, and Mooltanecs, (men of high family, courage, and false pride), to be turned adrift, after a life spent in military service well rewarded, and that these men will fight desperately, and die hard, unless a provision is held out to them just before the siege (before the last moment, they would not accept it, and only, then, will they do so, with dexterous Vikalul, carried on by one of their own blood, who knows their points of honor).

If I might, without offence, offer a military suggestion, when you have such able

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Inclosure 6 in No. 27.

*Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Leia, April 27, 1848.*

A MOST important document* has fallen into my hands, being a solemn summons, in the name of all that is holy in the Khalsa religion, from the Sikh soldiers in the fort of Mooltan to the regiment of Sikhs along with me, to march immediately, and join the rebels in Mooltan, that the Khalsa may once more unite, and relieve the Maharajah, and his mother, from the thralldom of the Sahib log.

It is signed and sealed by all the officers who went from Lahore with Agnew, from Khan Sing down; and it was sent by Esra Sing, of the artillery (Colonel) to his nephew, Dera Sing, a subadar in Futtch Sing's regiment, who took it to his colonel, who consulted with Bhace Amcera Buksh, and brought it to me next morning, *i. e.* to-day, for it came last evening.

Along with it, they have brought me a counter-bond of fidelity, signed by all the officers of the Futtch Pultun, professedly drawn up in ignorance of the Mooltan document, and suggested only by the crisis in which we are placed.

I know not what to think of these circumstances. Bhace Amcera Buksh's character you well know, and his relative connection with the Maharance. But, on the other hand, he may be "wise in his generation," and has certainly been very zealous on the march. Futtch Sing is a jolly good natured fellow, who served with Lawrence in the Khyber. But what Sikh is not ever prepared to be a traitor?

If this paper has not been seen by the whole regiment, how long will it be before another paper comes, and will that also fall into my hands? I feel bitterly indignant at this treachery, at the very moment when I am giving my life willingly to stem a rebellion, and arrest a whole Doab from a traitor to the Khalsa Government; at the very moment too of success; for, if they will only show a few days fortitude, what doubt can there be of the result?

But, after the base desertion of poor Agnew and Anderson, what else can any of us expect? You will, however, have to take a wider view of this matter than that which is merely personal to me; and it is for this reason I now write, and not to whine over a danger which duty requires that I should face. Depend upon it, the paper which I have got is a circular, and it is right to be prepared for the possible consequences of its favorable reception among the Sikh soldiers at all points.

Doubtless, you have made up your mind, that a British force must go to Mooltan, and this will naturally bring in fresh reinforcements from the rear.

I do not send the paper to you, as it is too valuable to be risked in the dak at this time.

How strongly now do Lawrence's arguments return to my mind, for banishing that Jezebel from the Punjab; she is a leaven of evil, which some day will leaven a fearful lump of political trouble. You have not forgotten, I dare say, her sending a slave-girl on a secret embassy to Mooltan, last June or July, and her impudent excuse, that she wanted a white âk tree for enchantments. The "tree" has now put forth its leaves, and their "rung" is much what might have been expected.

With the above exception, all is going on well. Our presence has, at a stroke, secured quiet in this Doab, and those who are disaffected can only sneak off to Mooltan. I have, most fortunately, got with me an exceedingly clever Puthan, of good family, named Foujdar Khan, who is related to many of Mooltan's chief officers, and knows every mercenary on both sides of the Indus. This has enabled me to summon some twenty or thirty leaders, whose swords are in the market, and, in a few days, I shall have a levy of about 3,000 Puthans and Beloochees, equal to twice their number of Sikhs, for any work along the banks of the Attock. For the cost of this levy, I consider Moolraj responsible to the State, and look on this Rubbee harvest here as my own lawful prize; for Misr Megraj would never have seen a rupee of it, had I not crossed the Indus.

P.S., *Night, 27th of April.*—I have just got your letter of the 21st, written on receipt of Agnew's first letter of the 19th, perhaps, indeed, the last also, poor fellow, that he ever wrote.

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Inclosure 8 in No. 27.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, May 5, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter dated the 25th ultimo, received this day, from Lieutenant Edwardes*.

I take this opportunity of forwarding the other communications from this officer, which have not, as yet, been sent, in due course, to your office.

Lieutenant Edwardes, on receiving intimation from Mr. Vans Agnew of his perilous position in Mooltan, hastened across the Indus to his relief:—on his arrival on the left bank of the Indus, Lieutenant Edwardes received tidings of the sad fate of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and immediately pushed forward to Leia, the principal town of the Sind Sagur Doab—a little way within the boundary of the Mooltan districts.

When Lieutenant Edwardes wrote on the 25th, he was expecting to be shortly attacked, in his position at Leia, by troops from Mooltan, ordered out by Dewan Moolraj against him.

I cannot account for the delay which has occurred in my receipt of Lieutenant Edwardes's letter. I received, the day before yesterday, a few lines from him, dated the 26th, merely stating that he had written to me, by a new, and he hoped, a quicker, route, on the 25th, fully of his circumstances.

During last night, I received from Bahawulpore, intelligence from Mooltan up to the 1st., in which I regret to say it was positively stated that a messenger arrived at Mooltan on the 29th, from the Durbar troops with Lieutenant Edwardes, giving in their full adherence to Moolraj and his interests, and promising, if the Dewan would send a force ostensibly to attack them, that they would, men and officers, join him. The offer was, of course, instantly accepted by Dewan Moolraj, who sent off troops and guns, on the 30th ultimo, to Leia, with dresses of honor and presents for the Durbar officers and soldiers.

My informant at Bahawulpore, instantly on receiving the above intelligence, sent a cossid from that place to Lieutenant Edwardes, to warn him of his danger.

What may have been the result of the move of Moolraj's troops on Leia, is yet unknown, but I am in the utmost apprehension regarding the safety of Lieutenant Edwardes. It is impossible to do anything to aid him. Leia is nearly 200 miles from Lahore, while it is little more than forty from Mooltan.

I can have no doubt, if Moolraj's troops advanced to Leia, as they proposed doing, that the whole of the troops with Lieutenant Edwardes, with the exception of the Barukzye contingent, about 300 strong, and some of Lieutenant Lumsden's Guide Corps, will have joined Moolraj. If Lieutenant Edwardes received the information of the treacherous intentions of his troops in time, I am in hopes that he may either have withdrawn them across the Indus again, or have left them, and made his way towards Bunnoo, or Lahore.

Lieutenant Edwardes, however, is of so chivalrous and confiding a spirit that it would take a great deal to persuade him that his troops would desert him. Unfortunately, too, owing to the injury he received at Kolachee, he was unable to ride.

I am most anxious regarding the fate of this intelligent and enterprising officer, and will report for his Lordship's information any intelligence I may receive. On the 25th of last month, on learning the treacherous conduct of the Sikh escort which accompanied the new Governor, and the British officers to Mooltan, and having the best reason to believe that all the Durbar troops sent to coerce Moolraj would join him, I sent instructions to Lieutenant Edwardes, which have since been repeated, almost daily, to keep all the Bunnoo force on the other side of the Indus, and not to use them, in any way, against Moolraj's troops. I cannot tell where these orders may have reached Lieutenant Edwardes, but I am in hopes he may possibly have got some one of them, after writing on the 25th, in time to enable him to re-cross the river, before Moolraj can have advanced on Leia.

Should Moolraj have succeeded in his design, and the Bunnoo force have joined him, it will make the present state of things a great deal more serious than hereto-

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I propose then to move forwards, and throw myself into a small fort, named Moondeh, twenty-five coss from this place, and about fifteen from Mooltan, pitching the Sikhs and majority of the camp outside, taking the guns inside. In that attitude I should be prepared for friend or foe, which seem just now synonymous terms.

It is, indeed, mortifying to know that the only obstacles in my way are the royal troops. If I had not a Sikh soldier in the camp, my mind would be at ease.

Accounts from Mooltan describe the garrison as constantly engaged in laying in stores, and preparing for resistance.

There is a report that Moolraj has sent to seize two "Mem Sahibs" on the Sutlej.

Another, that Agnew wrote to Bahawal Khan for help, and that a detachment of his cavalry crossed the Sutlej, for that purpose, but re-crossed, on hearing of the catastrophe. There is a great dread of Bahawal Khan's army in these parts; and I hope, ere this, you have ordered him across the river. It is said that part of the Sikh soldiers who went over, have been sent to watch the Ghat, opposite to Bahawalpore.

Perfect tranquillity, thanks to our presence, reigns in this Doab, and I have filled up almost all the vacant kardarships, and set the collections going.

Several Puthan leaders, who have been summoned, with their followers, by Moolraj, have come over to me with his purwannas, and taken service against him. He is enlisting everybody, down to the scum of the city of Mooltan.

P.S.—On the whole, I think it better to send you Khan Sing's manifesto*, and run the risk of its reaching, not knowing what may happen to myself.

Inclosure 10 in No. 27.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Moorawallah, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite
Dera Futteh Khan, May 1, 1848.*

ON the 22nd of April, I had the honor to report to you my intention to cross the Indus from Dera Futteh Khan, that night, and march to the assistance of Mr. Vans Agnew in Mooltan; and my notes, since that date, will have fully informed you that, in the course of the 23rd and 24th, I effected the passage, with the loss of, I regret to say, eight men, by the sinking of a boat; that, on the 25th, I marched into Leia, and, there receiving conclusive accounts of the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, the siding of the Lahore troops with the garrison, and the open rebellion of Dewan Moolraj, I abandoned the idea of proceeding to Mooltan, with my small force, and determined to try and keep possession of the Sind Sagur Doab, and collect its spring revenue for the Maharajah, instead of leaving it to find its way into the rebel treasury.

On the 27th of April, I reported to you, that I had become possessed of a manifesto, issued by Sirdar Khan Sing Man and the other Sikh traitors in the fort of Mooltan, to all the Sikhs in my camp, calling on them in the name of their Gooroo, to unite in a last struggle for the re-establishment of the Raj, and expressing my conviction that this would prove to be a circular to every station in the Punjab, where Sikh troops are cantoned.

On the 28th, I wrote to inform you, that it had become evident, not only to myself, but to the Poorbeah troops with me, that negotiations were going on between the Sikhs in this camp and the Mooltan garrison; that the adjutant of artillery had implored me to move the two guns from the Sikh side to the Poorbeah side of the camp; and that I had lost all confidence in the Futteh Pultun, though its officers had sent me a bond of fidelity, which (together with Khan Sing's manifesto) I inclosed.

I have now to inform you that, late on the evening of the 29th, one of my own cossids returned from Mooltan, and brought the intelligence that Dewan Moolraj had, at last, made the move which, ever since my arrival in Leia, I had apprehended, and thrown eight heavy guns, and between 4,000 and 5,000 men, across the Chenab, to oppose me, which force would reach Leia, without fail on the 1st of May.

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wishes of the Pathan portion of the garrison, but I should say that the Dewan himself was in much more anxiety about his life than his government. He resigned the latter, without a struggle; and only took refuge in rebellion, when he thought the former was forfeited.

In yesterday's Ukhbar from Lahore, I perceive that the Durbar have ordered several distant regiments to concentrate on Mooltan; and, being so close to the scene of agitation, I feel it a duty to express earnestly my conviction (founded on observation) that a more dangerous risk could not be run, at the present moment, than to give a Sikh army the opportunity of collecting before Mooltan. The Sikh soldiers have neither forgotten, nor forgiven, their humiliation on the banks of the Sutlej; and, incapable of gratitude to us, as they have ever been of fidelity to their own rulers, it is only a very small and reflecting portion of them on whom our extraordinary moderation has made any impression. The large majority would hail any feasible opportunity of rising, as a God-send; and the unhappy coincidence of this rebellion in Mooltan, with the prophecy which was in every Sikh's mouth after the Sutlej campaign, that in two years and a half the Raj should return to them again, may well be regarded, by the bigoted Khalsa, as a special dispensation of their Gooroo to suspend that wise policy of the British Government, which dispersed them in small parties over the face of the Punjab.

Even shutting our eyes to the probability of all the Sikh regiments following the example of those under Khan Sing Man, in the hour of trial, a very serious doubt arises, whether the Sikhs could reduce Mooltan, if they wished. Nothing can be more strong than the belief, in this part of the world, that they could not; and it is certain that they accomplished it at last (after two previous failures) with the greatest difficulty and loss, when in the height of their pride and power, and under the eye of their great Maharajah; and it is more as a mere reporter of public feeling in this direction, than as venturing any suggestion of my own, that I confidently report the Mooltan garrison prepared to submit to a British demonstration, but not to yield to a Sikh siege. The rumour to-day, that Bahawal Khan (the faithful ally of the British) is already encamped at Shoojahabad, in the Mooltan territory, makes it probable that this is only a part of a combined British movement, and that you have, long ago, anticipated the little information it is in my power to afford.

P.S.—While meditating, on the night of the 29th, the best plan of retiring from Lajia, I dispatched a small party of newly raised Pathans, to see if a fort of Dewan Moolraj, named Mojgarh, twelve coss from Lajia, north-east, were occupied or not, and, if possible, to obtain possession. A sowar of the party has just come in, with the intelligence that the small Thannah of Moolraj, which was in the fort, surrendered, and the fort is now in our possession. It is described as built of brick, sixty yards square, and capable of offering considerable resistance. I have directed the leader of the party to strengthen himself, by entertaining more men on the spot, and to put 200 rupees' worth of corn into the fort without delay, as it will, certainly, come into use. The fort is one of four which the old Dera Nawab built at equal distances of twelve coss, north, east, south, and west, from the great central fort of Munkerah in the Desert.

Inclosure 11 in No. 27.

Urzee from Mustapha Khan, Khaghwanee, in the Fort of Mooltan, to Lieutenant Edwardes.

YOUR letter was duly received by Dewan Moolraj, but he dares not answer it, for fear of the soldiers, who would insult and ill-treat him, if it came to their knowledge. He has, therefore, commissioned me to write to you, and say, that, if the smallest thought of rebellion had ever entered into his mind, it is not likely that he would have offered his resignation of Mooltan to the Maharajah and the Sahib Log in Lahore, and requested them to appoint another Nazim, neither would he have made over to Mr. Agnew and Sirdar Khan Sing Man the fort, and guns, and magazine; nor have let the Lahore soldiers into the fort, and commenced relieving all his own guards from the gates and other posts therein. It was, in fact, quite by accident that this affair occurred, and the soldiers, becoming insubordinate, involved him against his will, caused the guns to be drawn out, and commenced hostilities. Orders are issued, and letters written, just as the soldiers

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boorahs, in the direction of Leia; which continued for nearly an hour to fire successive rounds. At the end of that time, General Cortlandt answered with two guns, as near as we could guess at Kuchecree, fifteen coss north of this.

The delay in his reply I take to be owing to his coming in boats, and having to land before he could fire.

Inclosure 13 in No. 27.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, May 3, 1848.

IN reference to my letter to the Governor-General, dated the 27th ultimo,* with a copy of my dispatch, of that date, to the Commander-in-chief, I forward a letter just received from his Excellency in reply.†

I gather, from this letter of the Commander-in-chief, that it is the decided opinion of his Excellency that military operations of the nature required, cannot be undertaken against Mooltan, at this season of the year, with a fair prospect of success.

Under these circumstances, his Lordship in Council may depend on my doing every thing in my power, with the means at my command, to prevent the spread of rebellion, disaffection, and disturbance, beyond Mooltan, and to defeat the machinations, of Dewan Moolraj and his emissaries, to create a general insurrection in the country, and cause inroads on our frontier, till the season, when operations will be possible, may arrive.

Inclosure 14 in No. 27.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Ghat of Dera Futteh Khan, on
the Indus, May 7, 1848.*

THE rebel army, under Sham Sing, evacuated Leia in the dusk of the morning, and marched precipitately back to Mooltan.

The reason given out by the leaders of the rebel camp was, that Maharajah Duleep Sing had sent a purwanna to Moolraj, confirming him in his government, if he would not prosecute the war; an artifice, probably, necessary to bring back the soldiers. It was understood, however, that the Dewan's orders were that the force was to make Mooltan in two marches, a feat just possible, being forty-five coss, with a broad river to cross. This precipitation bespeaks any thing but royal favor, or rebel confidence.

Inclosure 15 in No. 27.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dera Futteh Khan, May 8, 1848.

I AM awaiting, with much interest, the return of Foujdar Khan from his interview with Mustapha Khan, at Sooltan-ke-Kote. Mustapha Khan is Moolraj's brains, as well as his sword-hand; and if he really has come as vakeel from Moolraj, a communication of importance may be expected. I scarcely can hope that he will accept my invitation, and come here to have a personal interview, though that would be most satisfactory to us both.

You seem to have estimated most truly what would be the conduct of the Futteh Pultun; and most arduous and anxious was the task I had, after the discovery

* Inclosure 17 in No. 26.

† Inclosure 7 in No. 27.

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any one can do, that an expedition against Mooltan, at this season, is declared impossible.

I must observe that Lieutenant Edwardes seems to have made a mistake in his letter of the 27th ultimo, and in some of the previous ones, in stating that the document which accompanied his letter of the 29th ultimo was signed by Khan Sing, and was a manifesto on the part of Khan Sing, and all the Sikh troops at Mooltan.

The paper appears to have been drawn up by the Sikh officers in the Dewan's service, and those of the troops that went with Sirdar Khan Sing Man. The Sirdar's name is not mentioned in the paper, nor is his seal attached to it, which would appear pretty good evidence that he was, in no way, a party to the matter.

The accounts regarding Sirdar Khan Sing's conduct are very conflicting; it is very difficult at this distance, and under the circumstances, to ascertain the truth.

He did not act with firmness and courage, certainly; but it is very doubtful if he was guilty of treachery. There seems no doubt that he is still a close prisoner, in irons.

It is worthy of remark that the last name on this paper is Kurm Alikee Buksh, a commedan of Irregular Horse; and that he is believed to have since deserted Moolraj, with sixty of his horsemen, and to be now at Jhung, on his way back to Lahore.

He wrote to me yesterday, to this effect—stating that he only consented to take service, to prevent being imprisoned, with a determination to escape, the first opportunity.

He was sent with the force to oppose Lieutenant Edwardes at Leia, and left it, with his troop, on the line of march.

If this be the fact, (and there seems no reason to doubt it) it will shake Moolraj's confidence in the fidelity of his new adherents.

Inclosure 19 in No. 27.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, May 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to report, the execution, this morning, of the two individuals described in the margin*, who were convicted of tampering with the native troops of the garrison of Lahore and cantonment of Anarkullee, and endeavouring to induce them to join in a plan for the surprise of the town, and the expulsion of the British troops.

Soon after my arrival at Lahore, I was told by Major Wheler, of the 7th Irregulars, that an attempt had been made to corrupt the men of his regiment by certain parties in Lahore.

I saw, at that time, one of his sowars, by name Gholam Nubbee Khan; and, having ascertained the nature of the communications made to him, I directed him to continue his connection with the parties concerned, reporting all circumstances to Major Wheler.

The affair went on for a short time, and then seemed to have been dropped; and as, at that time, the sowar could point out nothing very tangible against any individual; at any rate, nothing susceptible of legal proof; no further notice was taken.

Immediately after the transactions in Mooltan, Major Wheler told me that the attempts to seduce his men had been renewed. I sent for Lieutenant Lumsden, and directed him to take the matter in hand; to associate some of his guide corps in whom he could confide with the sowar of Major Wheler; and to sift the matter to the bottom.

The existence of a conspiracy to corrupt the native troops, to which many sepoys of the native infantry, and some of the artillery, were said to be parties, was satisfactorily established.

Lieutenant Lumsden received, at night, from his sepoys and from Major Wheler's sowar, full intelligence of all that was being carried on; and it was hoped that a scheme which we had framed, in communication with Brigadier Campbell, for

* Khan Sing, a General in the Sikh army, unemployed. Bhace Gunga Ram, the confidential valet of Maharanee Junda Khore.

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seizing the conspirators, with the parties who styled themselves delegates from the native corps, when assembled together, might be successful

This was defeated, by the fact of the communication between Major Wheeler's sowar and Lieutenant Lumsden becoming known, in the manner described in the proceedings, when it became necessary, at once, to secure the conspirators, or such of them as were known, and with their papers

This was very successfully managed by Mr Cocks and Lieutenants Lumsden and Hodson, who went, with a company of the Guide Corps, in the middle of the night of the 7th instant, to the house of General Khan Sing the chief person concerned, and seized him, and his people, with all the papers in the house, and afterwards secured the other persons known to the sowar and sepoy

The crime was clearly proved against the four individuals named in the margin*

It was next necessary, at the present moment, that decisive measures should be taken, and a prompt, and severe, example made

I summoned the members of the Council, and went, with them, through the trial of the parties accused, and already seized Yesterday, they unanimously concurred with me in convicting the four prisoners, and in sentencing them to be hung

Three† were sentenced to suffer death by hanging, at sunrise this morning, the remaining prisoner was sentenced to imprisonment for life, with transportation beyond seas

This morning, General Khan Sing and Bhace Gunga Ram were executed at the public gallows, near the Delhi gate of the city, in the presence of two regiments, and two companies from each of the other native corps of the garrison

The sentence passed on the prisoner Goolab has been suspended, and will be commuted to imprisonment for life, or he will be pardoned, as may be determined hereafter He gave to Mr Cocks valuable information last night about the other parties, connected with the conspiracy, regarding whom the investigation is being proceeded with

A perusal of the proceedings will show how deeply the Maharanee is concerned in this very important and serious matter, and I beg attention to the inclosed paper, being the copy of a statement, drawn up by Lieutenant Hodson, of communications made to him, last night, by Bhace Gunga Ram and Toolsee Ram

I have little doubt that the Governor-General in Council will concur with me that, at the present moment, extreme measures are required, and that his Lordship will approve of what has been done in the present instance

I shall report further, as to the measure of success which may seem to have attended the machinations of the conspirators, but I have no reason to think that their overtures were entertained by many of the soldiers of the garrison

Inclosure 20 in No 27

Memorandum of a Confession made to Lieutenant Hodson by Gunga Ram, and Commedan Toolsee Ram

May 11, 1848

AT about 10 o'clock last night, I was informed that Toolsee Ram, a prisoner under sentence of transportation, wished earnestly to speak to me, or any British officer I, accordingly, went to the guard, where he was confined, and taking him aside, asked what he wished to say to me, first, cautioning him that I had no power in any way to alter the sentence which had been passed on him, and that he must not hope for any mercy After many general professions of his ability and readiness to afford most important information, if respited, he went on to say, that he could identify all and each of the sepoys of the Company's army who had listened to the seductions of the conspirators, that the Rance was at the bottom of the whole business, and had not only written to him and to Khan Sing but had also sent letters to all the Sirdars of inferior rank and to the chiefs of the Durbar, with the exception of Deena Nath, to Maharajah Golab Sing, and to Dewan Moolraj, at Mooltan

* General Khan Sing Bhace Gunga Ram, Toolsee Ram Brahmin, Goolab Sing alias Goolaba

† General Khan Sing Bhace Gunga Ram, Goolaba

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I have heard, through private channels, that Lieutenant Edwardes* has safely reached Peshawur, and that the Sikh troops there happily continue faithful in their allegiance. I shall be happy to hear these reports confirmed, as such knowledge will very much influence my views upon future arrangements. Indeed, so much so, that, were they confirmed, I should very much doubt the expediency of, possibly, precipitating matters, by an attempt to occupy Govindgurh; particularly, as I understand it has been denuded of guns, other than two honey-combed pieces.

To give effect to the passage of troops during the rainy season, I have solicited the Government to have a steamer placed at Ferozepore.

Inclosure 23 in No. 27.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, May 15, 1848.

I FORWARD letters received from my assistants, on detached duty on the frontier.

His Lordship in Council will observe how very urgent all the officers are that operations against Mooltan may not be delayed, and how distinctly they describe their apprehensions of the evils which may result from inaction on our part.

My sentiments, and the difficulties in which we are placed, by the impossibility of acting against Mooltan, until an efficient force shall be collected at Ferozepore, and until the season may become more favorable for operations, are well known to his Lordship in Council.

At the same time, I do not altogether despair of being able to prevent the spread of dissatisfaction and rebellion beyond the Mooltan districts, for a few months, though, certainly, the probabilities are much against success.

I have taken the most active measures that the means at my disposal will admit of, for keeping Moolraj, and the large concourse of undisciplined soldiers he is assembling, to the neighbourhood of Mooltan.

If we can only prevent the Durbar troops from joining Moolraj, and keep them faithful to the Maharajah, or at any rate neutral, in their present positions, Moolraj's rebellion will be comparatively of small importance.

I spare no device of judicious intimidation in one place, and encouragement and praise in another, to keep the army, if not faithful to the State, at any rate, from overt acts of insubordination, and treachery.

Up to this time, the example of the troops which accompanied the new Nazim to Mooltan, has, in no instance, been followed.

The Jagheerdars, who have the deepest stake in the country, may, perhaps, prove faithful, but they would not be able to effect much, in an actual conflict with Moolraj.

The troops of the regular army will certainly not fight against Moolraj, but I cannot but hope that, if they see preparations for a large British force to proceed, at an early date, against the rebel Nazim, they will not make common cause with him, which would involve the necessity of fighting against us.

They have, by no means, forgotten the lesson they were taught two years ago.

The city and neighbourhood of Lahore are in a much less unsatisfactory state than they were a week ago.

The detection of the conspiracy to tamper with our sepoys, and the prompt example which was made of the principal conspirators, and the knowledge that I am now fully informed of all their schemes, and of the parties concerned therein, have had a most beneficial effect.

The result of the investigation and scrutiny which has taken place, has been, upon the whole, satisfactory, in more ways than one.

It has proved, I think, that but comparatively few of the sepoys have listened to the overtures of the conspirators.

I do not think that the number can exceed twenty, or twenty-five, and it is very doubtful whether these, though they made promises, and received rewards, had really any serious intention of keeping those promises, and acting against the British Government.

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of high rank—however unworthy, in their personal characters, those females may be of such consideration.

I propose, therefore, that the Maharanee be sent to Benares under a strong guard; that she be allowed to take, with her, her jewels, and such of her property as she may immediately require, and her domestic servants; that she be accompanied by the venerable Fakeer Noorooddeen, the personal friend and adviser of the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing, and a person greatly respected by the Sikhs generally; that the remainder of her personal property, now at Sheikhoopoor, be sent after her, in charge of her brother, Sirdar Heera Sing, to Meerut, or Benares, and that he be allowed to remain and reside with her. He is just as well out of the Punjab.

A steady, judicious, and intelligent officer must be appointed to take charge of the Maharanee, from Captain Browne at Ferozepore, and escort her to Benares.

At Benares, the Maharanee would be under the surveillance of Major MacGregor, C.B., the Governor-General's Agent, and she should be subject to such surveillance and custody as will enable Major MacGregor to prevent her having intercourse with parties beyond her own domestic establishment, without his knowledge, and from her holding any correspondence, by letter, with any person, except through him. As long as she conforms to all the orders and instructions of the Governor-General's Agent, and abstains from all attempts at improper correspondence, or intrigue, her confinement need not be more close than is necessary for the custody and precautions I have described. On the very first occasion of her disobeying Major MacGregor's orders, or showing a disposition to intrigue, she should be sent, forthwith, into close confinement, at Chunar.

The Governor-General in Council may, perhaps, like to know the mode in which the removal of the Maharanee was effected.

I had reason to believe it possible that she had gained over the guard, and the Sirdars in charge of Sheikhoopoor, to her interest, and that they might refuse, perhaps, to give her up.

About a week ago, I changed nearly the whole guard at the fort, and relieved the company of regulars, by a company from another regiment, of Poorbeahs. I added, to the Rohillas appointed by Colonel Lawrence, thirty new men; the jemadar of Rohillas, through whom they were entertained, remaining at Lahore.

I appointed Lieutenants Lumsden and Hodson, with the mounted portion of the Guide Corps, to be the escort of the Maharanee from Sheikhoopoor; and I sent with them, as bearers of my moorasilla to the Maharanee, and the Durbar purwannas, Race Mool Sing (the confidential vakeel of Raja Tej Sing), Dewan Kedar Nath, as representative of Raja Deena Nath, Sirdar Nar Sing, as representative of the Attaree interests, and Fakeer Noorooddeen.

Sheikhoopoor is twenty miles from Lahore. I was prepared, if opposition was offered, to enforce the execution of my orders. Lieutenant Lumsden's party arrived at Sheikhoopoor, before daylight yesterday morning; the emissaries of the Durbar having preceded them. If any hesitation was shown in opening the gates, I should have known it, soon after sunrise; and, at my request, the two squadrons of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons were saddled at daylight, and two nine-pounders of the Horse Battery ready harnessed with troop-horses, to go down at a moment's warning. This force, accompanied by Major Napier, of the Engineers, who had made a plan of the fort, might have been at the spot in three hours; and Major Napier was satisfied that they would get into the fort, in ten minutes afterwards.

Happily, there was not the slightest opposition; all was acquiescence and civility, from the Maharanee downwards, very probably somewhat induced by the executions which took place a few days ago.

I had provided fresh bearers and elephants, and a fresh escort of a ressalah of Irregulars, half-way between Sheikhoopoor and Kanna Chuch, where the party are halting, for a few hours to-day.

At Kanna Chuch I had a wing of native infantry, and another fresh ressalah as a guard, and the latter as a further escort; and from Kanna a dak of carriages is laid to Ferozepore; and a fresh escort of irregular cavalry, from Ferozepore, is to meet the party at Kusoor.

The affair has been managed, without any notice of our purpose being known; and I have no doubt that, by daylight to-morrow morning, the parties will be safe in the cantonment of Ferozepore.

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His Lordship in Council having now received your despatch, dated the 3rd of May,* in which you intimate your acquiescence in the opinion expressed by his Excellency, that the movement of British troops, at this season of the year, would be inexpedient, if not impracticable, directs me to communicate to you the entire concurrence of the Government of India in the decision to which you have come.

The movement you first proposed to make, of a portion of the British force, might have been expedient, as a demonstration in aid and support of the troops of the Lahore Durbar, who were advanced for the purpose of repressing the insurrection at Mooltan; but, when intelligence reached you that the Durbar troops who formed Mr. Vans Agnew's escort, had, in a body, joined the insurgents, and when you had good ground for believing that the whole Durbar army would, on arriving at Mooltan, have followed their example, you acted with prudence and discretion in pausing before you engaged, and in now finally determining not to engage, the British troops in such a district as Mooltan, and at such a season of the year, in operations on the extensive scale on which they must have been conducted. Had the outbreak occurred a few months, or even a few weeks, earlier in the year, his Lordship in Council would have expected, and required, a different course of action. The British force would, in that case, have been instantly moved; and the outrage committed, the treachery shown, on the part of the leaders and the soldiers in Mooltan, would have been followed by a retribution no less prompt than severe. But, to have moved an army now, against a fort so strong as that of Mooltan, requiring a siege train for its reduction, to have done so with a knowledge of the force collecting there, of the probability, which the admission of the Sirdars have since converted into certainty, that the army of the Maharajah was not faithful—at a season when the heat is intolerable, the rains in early prospect, and the rivers already beginning to swell towards the inundation which they spread over the country;—this would have involved the certainty of a fearful loss of life among the troops, and might have resulted in a temporary failure of the enterprise.

The Government of India are fully alive to the effect which the inactivity of the British power for several months, under such an insult and injury, will have on the minds of the people of the country. His Lordship in Council does not question the existence of danger to British influence, in the course which has been determined on. It is but too possible that the flame, kindled at Mooltan, may spread into conflagration throughout the Punjab. But, on the other hand, his Lordship in Council is convinced, that the discontinuance of operations which the season would have compelled, and the apparent discomfiture implied in that discontinuance, would have caused rebellion to spread as rapidly, and would have produced dangers quite as great as those which delay will produce, while it would have left the Government less fully prepared to meet them.

When the period shall have passed, during which military operations are impracticable, the Government of India will put forth, if necessary, the whole power that they can command, for the purpose of inflicting severe and signal punishment on those guilty of this outrage, and of exacting, from the State of Lahore, that national reparation which the national injury done to the Government of the East India Company imperatively requires. The Lahore Government has failed, and will ever fail, it is feared, to punish the murderers of the British officers, and to repress the rebellion. The British Government must do this for themselves, and they are firmly resolved to do so.

In furtherance of this determination, the Governor-General in Council will issue immediate directions, for the commencement, and vigorous prosecution, of such preparations as may enable the army to take the field, as soon as the season will permit.

In the mean time, every precaution should be taken for securing the present position of the British force at Lahore; and for providing against any danger which may arise within the Punjab. You have, already, directed the reinforcement of the troops near Lahore. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves of this measure.

His Lordship in Council will be glad to hear that you have resolved to place a garrison of British troops in Govindghur. You have the power to do this under the treaty, and it would be an expedient measure at the present time.

At a moment so favorable for the exercise of her powers of intrigue, it can hardly be doubted that the Ranee is prepared for, if not already busy in, mischief.

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Inclosure 32 in No. 27.

*The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.**Lahore, May 20, 1848.*

I AM much disposed to discredit Mustapha Khan's statement of Sirdar Khan Sing Man's treachery. His conduct is very differently described, by numerous eye-witnesses who have returned from Mooltan; and there is no doubt that he is, up to this time, a close prisoner, in heavy irons, and subject to very hard treatment.

Inclosure 33 in No. 27.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.**Lahore, May 22, 1848.*

THERE was a Sikh Gooroo, called Bhace Maharaj, concerned in the Preyma case, and for whose apprehension a reward was offered, at the time, by the Durbar. This man has, lately, appeared in the neighbourhood of Deenanuggur; and some 200 or 300 vagabonds have joined him, for the purpose of plunder, or disturbance. I have sent the 14th Irregulars, with two guns from the native troop of Horse Artillery, to disperse them, and have taken measures for the seizure of Maharaj himself, by a sudden raid upon him from Mookerian in Jullundur, which is only about fourteen miles from the place he usually retires to.

Inclosure 34 in No. 27.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.**Lahore, May 23, 1848.*

LIEUTENANT EDWARDES is a most energetic, enterprising, and skilful officer; and I have much hope that he will, by the exercise of these qualities, succeed in extricating himself and his force from his very critical position.

Many of my letters have miscarried, doubtless, and he was not, perhaps, aware of the arrangements I had made for protecting our districts, and getting possession of Moolraj's, in the Sind Sagur Doab, without his, or General Cortlandt's, being brought across the Indus.

I am glad to say that I have just received communications from Bahawulpore, from which it appears that the Nawab Bahawul Khan was, on the 19th of the month, making active preparations for throwing his army across the Sutlej.

If the Nawab does this, Moolraj must instantly recall his troops from Leia on the Indus; or Bahawul Khan, and our force in the Baree Doab, may occupy the town of Mooltan, cut off his returning troops from their fort, and attack them at the ferries of the Chenab.

Inclosure 35 in No. 27.

*The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.**Lahore, May 23, 1848.*

I RECEIVED late last evening your letter, dated the 16th and 17th instant*, with its inclosure, a letter addressed by you to Nawab Bahawul Khan.

My letters already addressed to you, and more particularly those more recently written, will have informed you of my having, from the first breaking out of Moolraj's rebellion, called upon Bahawul Khan to co-operate with us, whenever the moment for making that co-operation most effective should arrive, and that Bahawul Khan declared he had his troops in hand, ready to cross the Sutlej when desired.

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Moolraj's force could not remain where it was : there has been a great rise in the rivers of the Punjab, during the last four days ; and the Indus is said to be the first to feel the influence of those causes which occasion this rise. The right bank, on which General Cortlandt and Lieutenant Edwardes are, is high and steep, all the way below Dera Ismael Khan, while the left is low and sandy ; and, on the first considerable rise of the river, it is inundated for eight or ten miles.

I do not think that, under any circumstances, Moolraj would permit his officers to place the inundations of the Indus and Chenab between his only army and Mooltan.

The reports from Raja Shere Sing's camp are, that the Khalsa soldiery, on hearing of the removal of the Maharanee, were much disturbed : they said, that she was the mother of all the Khalsa, and that, as she was gone ; and the young Duleep Sing in our hands, they had no longer any one to fight for, and uphold ; that they had no inducement to oppose Moolraj, and, if he came to attack them, would seize the sirdars, and their officers, and go over to him.

These are but wild and whirling words, if they were really uttered ; but it is no part of my plan to bring Raja Shere Sing's force into collision with Moolraj's, unless Moolraj's power is broken by other means, and, then, the brave Khalsa army may be depended on, in operations to hasten his downfall.

The intelligence of the Rance's removal does not appear to have caused any great sensation at Peshawur, or Hazara.

I have allowed Lieutenant Herbert, and the drill instructors, to proceed to Peshawur, in company with the Nizam-oo-dowlah Mohummud Oosman Khan, with whom, under any circumstances, they would be safe. It is not expedient to appear apprehensive of evil, or to indicate distrust of the troops. Unless we meet with some great reverse or disaster, the Peshawur force will, I think, now remain quiet. They have before their eyes the wholesome dread of the Mahomedan population, by whom they are surrounded, and thoroughly hated ; a great part of the force is, moreover, Mahomedan, and this would remain staunch to us, unless Dost Mahomed should come, which is not likely.

Inclosure 37 in No. 27.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, May 27, 1848.

BY the tenth article of the Treaty, of the 22nd of December, 1846, it is agreed that the sum of 1,50,000 rupees shall be set apart, annually, from the revenues of the Lahore State, as a provision for the maintenance of the Rance and her dependants. This allowance, though a liberal, was a fitting provision for the mother of the Maharajah Duleep Sing ; and she was secure of receiving it, so long as she abstained from hostile intrigues against the Power who guaranteed it to her. The Governor-General in Council is under the impression that, when the Rance was removed, on account of her intrigues to Sheikhoopoor, the allowance was reduced by the Durbar, at the suggestion of the Resident, to 4,000 rupees per mensem. The position she now holds, is materially different. She has been guilty of plotting against the British interests at Lahore, and, for this offence, the mere removal of her to British territory, cannot be called a punishment, while she is treated in the same liberal manner as before. His Lordship in Council is, therefore, of opinion, that you should consider, in communication with the Council of Regency, the propriety of a further reduction of the allowance, such as would still leave it ample, considering that the Rance is taking with her a very large amount of private property and jewels.

Inclosure 38 in No. 27.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, May 27, 1848.

THE Governor-General in Council is desirous that you should convey to Lieutenant Edwardes his approbation of the gallantry, energy, and judgment he displayed in his proceedings, after he received intelligence of the insurrection at Mooltan.

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fired away, at random, till it was light, when the Khosas attacked them, sword in hand. The Lugharees fought desperately, and the fight lasted three hours, when the rebels were overpowered ; Cheytun Mull and one nephew killed on the field, Longa Mull taken prisoner, and the gun and five zumboorahs captured. The Khosas were still pursuing the vanquished, when the two cossids who brought this news left Dera Ghazee Khan. 'This is most important news, and cannot but have great effect upon the enemy.' It appears, therefore, that Moolraj had not only been entirely unsuccessful in his attempts on the other side of the Indus, but has lost many posts which were in his possession at the commencement of the rebellion.

The occupation of Dera Ghazee Khan is not only gratifying in itself, but, especially, for the mode in which that post was gained. By the encouragement held out to a native chief of influence, and by the conquest he has effected on behalf of Lieutenant Edwardes, the sympathies of the rude Mahomedan tribes of the Derajat, have been enlisted on the side of that gallant officer, securing for him a greater chance of being able to offer successful resistance to the Sikh troops, in his own camp, whom he suspects of disaffection, and even of more treasonable designs, if they had the means to carry them into effect.

These two actions, at Leia and at Ghazee Khan, will, by their complete success, operate most favorably upon the minds of those who maintain but a doubtful allegiance ; and, as the river has already begun to rise, and will now daily increase in depth and rapidity, we have great reason to hope that Lieutenant Edwardes will be able to maintain his position, till the British troops advance to Mooltan.

The other officers on detached duty report, generally, that affairs are tranquil in their respective neighbourhoods, though they all entertain suspicions of the fidelity of the Sikh troops. They have not yet had time to report the effect of the Maharanee's removal, but it is to be hoped that it will be attended with all the good effects anticipated by Sir F. Currie. They still mention that a day has been fixed for a general rising of the Khalsa army ; but it is satisfactory to reflect that Major Abbott, at Hazara, and Major Lawrence, at Peshawur, do not concur in naming the same day, the former naming the 23rd, and the latter the 25th ultimo ; and that, as the Resident's last letter is dated from Lahore, the 29th idem, he had ample time to learn if any such demonstration had occurred, and to communicate it to the Government.

At Lahore itself, all was perfectly tranquil. The result of the expedition against Bhaee Maharaj Sing has not yet been reported, but the measures taken to secure his apprehension were prompt, and judicious.

In our last dispatch, we alluded to the proposal of the Commander-in-chief, respecting the force to be assembled, early in the cold season, for the reduction of Mooltan. We have considered that there is nothing, in the present aspect of affairs, to warrant the conclusion that so large a force as 24,000 men and 50 siege guns can be required for any operations that we can be called upon to undertake.

We have endeavoured to secure the object which we have in view, by a more moderate exhibition of strength, and without any increase to the army.

After a most careful consideration of the matter, in all its bearings ; after contemplating the possibility of the whole country being arrayed against us, which every day seems now to render more improbable ; and having regard to the imposing force at Lahore, and in the Jullundur Doab, which will be maintained without reduction ; and to the brigade which will act in co-operation in the direction of Sinde ; we conceive that the army we have resolved on assembling, on the frontier, as soon as the weather permits, will be found amply sufficient for the purpose of chastising the rebels, and exacting reparation.

Inclosure 1 in No. 28.

The Resident at Lahore to Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B.

Lahore, May 21, 1848.

I REQUEST that you will give orders for the march, with as little delay as possible, of a regiment of irregular cavalry, and two guns from one of the troops of horse artillery, to Deenanuggur, to disperse a party of disaffected persons assembling at that place.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 28.

The Resident at Lahore to Mr. Lawrence.

Lahore, May 26, 1848.

IN consequence of the number of people who were reported to be attaching themselves to the Gooroo, Bhace Maharaj Sing, in the neighbourhood of Deenanuggur, I sent off, on the night of the 20th instant; the 14th Irregulars, with two guns from the native troop of Horse Artillery, to that place, with orders to Captain Skinner to disperse any assemblages of people he might hear of in the neighbourhood, and do his best to arrest Bhace Maharaj Sing, and any of his party.

Lieutenant Hodson went off, the night before, with a small party of the guides, viâ Umritsur and Bhyrowal, to Mookerian, with orders from the general to the officers commanding at Mookerian and Hajeeapore, to attend to any requisition he might make for aid from them, for the purpose of endeavouring, with a party of Major Forster's Horse, to get hold of the Bhace before he should decamp, on hearing of the approach of the detachment from Lahore.

I fancy Bhace Maharaj Sing was too quick for Lieutenant Hodson; he has, I hear, crossed the Ravee; but I have not, as yet, had any report from Lieutenant Hodson.

I intend that the 14th Irregulars, and the guns, shall remain at Deenanuggur, for a short time, and Lieutenant Hodson with them.

The officers commanding at Hajeeapore and Mookerian, have been instructed to co-operate with the detachment from Lahore, if called upon by Captain Skinner, or Lieutenant Hodson, to do so.

P.S.—The Durbar have offered a reward of 5,000 rupees to any one who will hand over Bhace Maharaj.

Inclosure 6 in No. 28.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Peronwallah, 25 coss directly north from Dera Ghazee Khan, May 20, 1848.

I DISPATCHED the whole of my cavalry, magazine, spare store-carts, heavy baggage, and as many infantry as I had no boats for, by the land route, from Futteh Khan, to join General Cortlandt, opposite Dera Deen Punnah, on the evening of the 18th; and, as soon as the moon rose, embarked the four guns, and the majority of the infantry, in twenty-seven boats, and floated down the branch of the Indus, which passes under Dera Futteh Khan. The river is now very high, rising daily, and its navigation dangerous: so that the Mullahs refused to proceed any further, when we emerged into the main stream, and we were obliged to anchor till morning, when, we pushed off again; and by nine A.M., on the 19th, were abreast of General Cortlandt's camp, at a place called Jung, which however we were unable to approach, owing to an island lying between us, and the inland stream being too shallow for navigation: merely exchanging shots; by way of recognition, therefore, we determined to occupy at once the Ferry of Peronwallah, seven coss further south, at which the enemy had for the last three days, been threatening to cross, and we reached it safely, though with much trouble from a baffling wind, at midday yesterday.

The whole of the cavalry reached General Cortlandt's camp, a distance of twenty-five coss by noon, and many of them came, in the evening, to the Peronwallah Ghat, having made a march of thirty-two coss in twenty-four-hours, which, in this weather, is a great feat.

In the evening, at my request, General Cortlandt rode over to my camp to consult about the state of affairs, and, from him, and other parties, during the day, we learnt, that the rebel force in the Sind Sagur Doab, was really designed to recover the Lungurh country, and Mungrotah Fort, and prevent General Cortlandt from getting possession of Dera Ghazee Khan. The nominal chief is Hur Bugwan Doss, nephew of Moolraj's factotum, Dewan Rungram, but the active spirits are Ussud Khan Moot Kanee, and Julal Khan Lugharee, to the former of whom Moolraj has (with the generosity of an Alexander) made a present of Lungurh, and to the latter, Dera Ghazee Khan, of which districts they are respectively natives, and men of note.

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that occurred at Dera Ismael Khan, a few days ago. Lieutenant Taylor had sent eight companies of infantry to assist me; I believe three companies of Dogras from Zora Khan Sing's regiment, three ditto from Bishen Sing's Mussulman regiment, and two from Mihr Sing's regiment of Sikhs. Bunnoo became, in the meanwhile, so disturbed that I was obliged to write, and order these eight companies to hurry back. The order reached them at Dera, and the Sikhs and Mussulmans refused, I understand, to obey, declaring that "they would go on and see what arrangements were being made by the other prunts or punches in our camp." Sirdar Chunder Sing got alarmed, and communicated his fears to Mrs. Cortlandt, whose nerves, having been fortified by some years' residence in the Punjab, enabled her to enlist the artillerymen of two guns, of the same detachment, in her favor, and persuade the companies to return to Bunnoo. The Dogras expressed a determination, throughout, to be faithful to their salt, and obey orders. The conduct of the Sikhs is nothing more than every body would expect who knows anything of their character and history, but that of the Mussulmans is more surprising, and adds, considerably, to the secret danger which is smouldering at this moment throughout the Sikh army. It is observable, however, that the men of Bishen Sing's regiment are Mussulmans of the Manjha, and districts neighbouring thereto. The longer the Mooltan rebellion remains triumphant, the more weak men will it lead astray.

P.S. 11 o'clock at night, May 21.—News has just arrived of a most complete victory to our party, and defeat of the rebels, at Dera Ghazee Khan, this morning. In this letter I have mentioned Julal Khan Lugharee as a native of Ghazee Khan, to whom Moolraj had given that country. His bitter enemy is one Kowrah Khan Khosa, a powerful Toomandur, whose vakeel came to me at Futteh Khan, to offer me his submission, fully a fortnight ago. I then told him to send his son to me, with a contingent, which he did. The son, Gholam Hyder Khan, received a khillut from me, and was made over to General Cortlandt, when that officer started for Dera Ghazee Khan. Yesterday this young fellow volunteered to go on a-head to Ghazee Khan, raise his father's clan, and drive Longa Mull out of the country, across the Indus. General Cortlandt gave him permission, but thought so little about it that he never mentioned it to me. It now appears that Gholam Hyder Khan, when he left General Cortlandt's camp, made up his mind to "do or die," and made but one request to a Puthan friend, that, if he fell in the fight, he would "ask the Sahib to avenge his death!" Having joined his father, Kowrah Khan, at Dera Ghazee Khan, the two raised their clan for a grand struggle against their enemies, the Lugharees, who mustered 500 strong, around Longa Mull. Cheytun Mull, uncle of Longa Mull, and the runaway Hakim of Sungurh, and Mungrotah, had joined his nephew, and the two moved boldly out, in front of Dera Ghazee Khan, and encamped themselves on the road to oppose General Cortlandt's anticipated advance. They had one gun and five zumboorahs. In the last watch of the night, the Khosas drew near, and surrounded the two Kardars, who fired away, at random, till it was light, when the Khosas attacked them, sword in hand. The Lugharees fought desperately, and the fight lasted three hours, when the rebels were overpowered; Cheytun Mull and one nephew killed on the field; Longa Mull taken prisoner, and the gun and five zumboorahs captured. The Khosas were still pursuing the vanquished, when the two cossids who brought this news, left Dera Ghazee Khan. This is most important news, and cannot but have a great effect upon the enemy.

Inclosure 7 in No. 28.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Lahore, May 29, 1848.

I CONGRATULATE you, heartily, on your energetic operations, and on the success of your Affghan ally, Gholam Hyder Khan, and beg that you will convey to him and his father the expression of my approbation and admiration of their conduct, and that you will tell them, if you think it right, that a purwanna and khillut shall be sent to them from the Maharajah.

I cannot, however, approve of your proposal to cross the Indus, at the present moment. You will do the State excellent service by maintaining the peace of your

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hear of Bahawal Khan's main body having occupied Shoojabad. Had a British officer been with them, they would have done so several days ago."

The Nawab had expressed a desire to have the assistance of a British officer. The Resident selected for this service Lieutenant Lake, of the engineers, and sent him to join the force immediately, with instructions to direct its movements, according to his own judgment, and to co-operate with Lieutenant Edwardes. In his letter* on this subject to Lieutenant Lake, dated the 9th of June, the Resident describes the movement of Bahawal Khan as one having for its object "to occupy, and collect the revenues of, the Mooltan districts on the Bahawalpore frontier, and to confine Dewan Moolraj to his fort, and prevent his sending troops into the Lahore districts in order to create disturbances therein, and promote the spread of rebellion through the other Punjab provinces."

From Lieutenant Edwardes' letter of the 6th ultimo†, it appears that he was expecting every hour to see the rebel force quitting their position opposite to him at Koreyshee, with the intention of returning to Mooltan, to aid in opposing Bahawal Khan's advance. On the 7th, he moved from Ghazee Khan to the bank of the river, making a demonstration of an intention to cross. He did not, however, intend to cross, until he should hear of the surrender of the fort of Hurrund, situated between Dera Ghazee Khan and Mittunkote. The regiment called the "Futteh Pultun," had been sent to take possession of Mittunkote, but Moolraj's officer at Hurrund having refused to surrender, it was necessary to force his submission first. Intelligence of this having been effected has not yet reached us.

Sir F. Currie having left a discretion to Lieutenant Edwardes to cross the Indus, and move in the direction of Mooltan, that officer intended, it appears, to proceed to Raj Ghat, on the right bank of the Chenab, two coss from Mooltan—the object being to co-operate with Bahawal Khan's force, in hemming in Moolraj, and keeping him to his fort.

The result of the communication between Mustapha Khan, the supposed agent of Moolraj, and Lieutenant Edwardes, has confirmed the anticipation of the Resident. "Mustapha Khan now writes," says Lieutenant Edwardes, "that, on his return from my camp to Mooltan, he strongly urged Moolraj to surrender himself to me, but the Dewan rejected his advice, got angry when pressed, and renewed his preparation for war."

From all accounts, Dewan Moolraj is becoming more determined in rebellion as his cause becomes more desperate. Lieutenant Edwardes hears from Mooltan that the Sikhs "are mustering strong, and determined to fight." And Sir F. Currie writes, "Dewan Moolraj is by no means inactive, he is employing all his resources to raise a large army, and to equip it, to prepare his fort for a siege, and to gain over to his interests the Khalsa troops and the Sikh people." "I am constantly at work, the Durbar merely acquiescing, to defeat the machinations of the Dewan, to confine the rebellion within the smallest limits, and to keep the Dewan and his troops to the neighbourhood of the city and fort of Mooltan, till after the rains, when the business will be easily settled, and it matters little, as far as the British Government is concerned, whether the Khalsa army were to join Moolraj or not."

The destruction of the outlaw, Gooroo Bhace Maharaj, and the utter discomfiture of his followers, is an event which has greatly tended to support the British authority, and which must have the effect of disheartening the rebels. For a detailed account of this man's proceedings, and of the successful measures taken for his overthrow, we would refer you to Sir F. Currie's letter, dated June 13‡.

On the whole, the aspect of affairs in the Punjab is, at present, more favorable than it has been since the outbreak of the rebellion. The position of the British troops at Lahore is one of commanding strength, every attempt to weaken it, whether by secret machinations, or by open rebellion, has, hitherto, been signally frustrated. The consequence is, that the spirit of disaffection, which is believed to pervade the whole Sikh army, has not broken out in acts of hostility, but has been overawed and restrained. "A strong desire to aid Moolraj (Sir Frederick Currie writes) pervades all the soldiers, but they are not heroes enough to join a falling standard; a few more reverses, and the fidelity of the Sikh troops is secure."

P.S. Since the above was written, four dispatches have come in together from Lahore, dated the 17th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd ultimo. The contents of the letter,

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† Inclosure 11 in No. 29.

‡ Inclosure 18 in No. 29.

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lost about 40 killed; the Khosas, or Sirkar's party, 15; and nearly 50 wounded. All accounts agree as to the bloody nature of the contest. Forty boats which had been collected for Moolraj, at the Dera Ghazee Khan ferry, also fell into our hands. The chief part of the killed were Sikhs. The inferior Kardar, (under Longa Mull) named Abdool Rahman Khan, took refuge in the fort of Ghazee Khan, and was treating for his life, when last I heard. His women were in the city, not the fort, so, of course, he has surrendered.

On the morning of the 22nd, I thought it best to send General Cortlandt's division on to Dera Ghazee Khan, to take possession, and watch the result at Mooltan. He will make it in three marches; his cavalry pushed on the whole distance in one day, to show that a force was on the road, and quiet alarm in the large city of Ghazee Khan. I remained here, to watch the rebel army on the opposite side of the Indus; which, yesterday, was at Dera Deen Punnah, and, to-day, is at Oodoo-ke-Kote. The latter place is rather to the south of me, and I move to-morrow morning to Ulliyanah, which is directly opposite them, and 6 coss from this place on the bank of the Indus.

It is impossible to say what plan will now be followed by Moolraj; defeats are more discouraging to natives than to Europeans; and the Leia and Ghazee Khan affairs are not likely to infuse more vigor into the rebel counsels. Yet, Moolraj's army at Mooltan is daily on the increase; my occupation of the Trans-Indus has cut off most of the Belooches and Puthans from joining him, but I have good information that the Sikhs are coming into him, in large numbers, from the Manjha; and the delay which has occurred, has enabled him to dig up, and mount, all the guns which were buried for concealment in the fort of Mooltan, amounting, they say, to not less than sixty.

My anticipation is, that Moolraj will immediately concentrate all his disposable force of men and guns at Korey-see, opposite Dera Ghazee Khan, and that Ussud Khan and Hur Bugwan Doss' army that is now opposite me, will be moved down to the left bank, for that purpose. I shall move parallel, and join General Cortlandt. The two forces will then encamp face to face, and the result depends on Moolraj's enterprise, and your estimate of the danger in which General Cortlandt and I will then be placed.

I, once more, lay it before you, that we have now done our best, in execution of your instructions, and have come, very nearly, to the length of our tether. It is probable that, in another month, we may gain two or three thousand more Puthans, but, in the same time, Moolraj will gain twice as many Sikhs; you cannot fail to have observed the utter indifference with which Moolraj treats the approach of Raja Shere Sing's division, as if it put him to no inconvenience, and by no means required him to draw his forces home; and I venture to prophecy that, when the Raja, with his trusty Jagheerdars, reaches Cheecheewutnee, between which and Mooltan there cannot be 50 coss, and no river interposes, Moolraj's main army will be, still, found encamped on the left bank of the Indus, opposite Dera Ghazee Khan, with the Chenab between them and Mooltan. Why? Because he knows I am his enemy, and because he knows that Raja Shere Sing's force is not. I imply no suspicion against the Raja, because he has much to lose, and nothing to gain; but his men will show forbearance, if they merely remain inactive. The same with the force ordered to Munkeerah. This distant investment of Mooltan, if it produces any effect at all, will probably be more sinister than beneficial; and I trust you do not calculate on its affording the slightest protection to the position of General Cortlandt and myself, at Ghazee Khan.

As yet, I have not heard from you, in reply to several letters in which I have stated my opinion, that this frontier is untenable by me, unless Bahawul Khan effects a diversion by crossing the Sutlej. The latest letter I have received from you bears date the 8th of May. I know not, therefore, whether you consider my fears well or ill-founded, and approve, or disapprove, of my request that Bahawul Khan be moved across the Indus; objection there seems to be none, and the advantages are obvious, and may be expressed in a few words—security, for the whole hot weather and rains. There can be no delicacy in exposing the Nawab's troops to the hot season, seeing that the troops with me are certain to be out all the year.

I had written this much, when news arrived of the sudden disappearance of the enemy from Oodoo-ke-Kote, whither it is not known. I believe they had not boats enough to cross to this side, and they must either have been suddenly recalled to Mooltan, or have been ordered to move down towards Ghazee Khan. In a few hours, correct information will be received, but, meanwhile, I have written to General Cortlandt, to march, at once, into Ghazee Khan, however distant, and, if necessary, summon

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Three or four days ago, I received a purwanna, from the Sirkar, for Ussud Khan, Noot Kanee, in the enemy's camp opposite. He has made himself very conspicuous in the rebellion, and ill-deserves the promise of keeping his jagheer, which that purwanna holds out to him, if he comes in. I, therefore, wrote on the back of it that, if he intended to avail himself of its terms, he must do so, at once, or else consider them cancelled, as the Sirkar could not be aware of the lengths to which he had gone. This morning, I received an answer from him, declaring that he is unable to comply, on account of his women being in Mooltan, which is a falsehood, as I have good information that he removed them, some time ago, to the Khangah of Mukhtoom Rusheed Koreyshee, whence he is at perfect liberty to send them whithersoever he likes. I consider, therefore, that he has forfeited all claim to anything but his life, should he surrender, at some future stage of the campaign.

Jullal Khan, Lugharee, with sixty men, has deserted the enemy, and I expect him in, to-morrow, or next day. There are no boats, and he must cross on a mussuck, which will do him good.

Mussoo Khan, who fought at Leia, and has again returned thither, is also expected in; his brother having undertaken to bring him in, in seven days.

This is not to be mistaken for loyalty. The homes of these traitors are on this side of the river, and confiscation is, as it were, on their threshold.

There is a fellow named Jowahir Mull, of Imnabad, in the enemy's camp, whose name is much in people's mouths. It would be well to confiscate his estates, if he has any.

A Sirdar named Ujjet Sing, of Pukka Sindanwalla, on the Sutlej, who enjoys a considerable jagheer from the Sirkar, fought, on the side of the rebels here in Ghazee Khan, on the 20th, and took refuge, at the end of the action, in the fort, whence he was allowed mercifully to emerge, on giving up his arms to the Khosas. I hope this man's jagheer will be, immediately, taken from him. He is again with the enemy on the other bank.

Inclosure 5 in No. 29.

*Captain C. Mackenzie, commanding 4th Regiment Sikh Local Infantry, to
Major F. Mackeson, C.B.*

May 27, 1848.

THE whole of the regiment under my command volunteered, yesterday, to go on service against the Mooltanees, now in insurrection. I beg to explain, distinctly, that neither I, nor my European officers, have had anything to do with this act, which is quite spontaneous on the part of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoy, who are apparently eager to have an opportunity of proving their zeal and fidelity.

Inclosure 6 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dera Ghazee Khan, May 30, 1848.

THINGS remain much in the same state as when last I wrote. We are encamped here, threatening to cross; and the enemy opposite us at Koreyshee, looking out to prevent us.

Jullal Khan, Lugharee, a zemindar of this district, of considerable note, came over to us, the day before yesterday, from the rebel camp, with about eighty men. He is more trouble to me here than there, on account of his belonging to the party which is at war with the Khosas, who have been doing us much good service; and receiving both in the same Durbar is much like associating a tiger and a lion. But

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revolt, for the sake of being dealt with as enemies. I am in daily expectation of the Zemindars, Trans-Indus, asking to be treated as their brethren over the water; and the answer I shall give them, will be more arbitrary than logical, namely, that Jowahir Mull is master on that side, and I on this. I trust that a consideration of these circumstances will induce you to rescind the remission of one-third, in all the districts of Jowahir Mull, Shore Sing, and Emamooddeen; the example being most pernicious, and leading to the belief that the Government of the Maharajah is much weaker than it is.

Inclosure 7 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dera Ghazee Khan, June 2, 1848.

THIS morning, I received a reply from Nawab Bahawul Khan, dated the 30th of May, in which he informs me that he is crossing the whole of his force, expects to complete the passage as it were to-day, and shall then move on Shoojabad, which is twenty coss from Mooltan.

I offered to co-operate with the Nawab should he desire it, and marked out two plans as those which lay open to him, one without, and one with, my co-operation, requesting of him to tell me which he meant to follow? The first was, for him to advance alone towards Mooltan, and to force Moolraj to recall the army of Hur Bugwan Doss at Koreyshee in my front. But to do this, I said, "You must be strong and self-sufficient." The other plan was, in case of his not being strong enough to adopt the former, that he should act in conjunction with me, crossing below the debouche of the Chenab, (at Ooch, or somewhere thereabouts) into the lower part of the Sind Sagur Doab, and advancing up the right bank of the Chenab to Khangur, where I proposed to join him by forcing the Indus at the ferry of Kinjur. This offer I made, because Bahawul Khan's friendship for our Government is undoubted, and I thought that, if, out of good will, he had undertaken more than he could well accomplish, in becoming responsible for the occupation of the country between the Sutlej and Mooltan, it would be but right to give him every assistance in my power. His answer, this morning received, adopts the former plan, and implies that he is sufficiently strong to go alone, but hints that I might join him at Shoojabad, which is impossible, without boats on the Chenab.

I am not sorry that the Nawab has taken his own line, since it is the one which obviously offers the greatest military advantages, and which, if followed with any vigor and show of strength, must oblige Moolraj to summon all his troops across the Chenab. At least, I do not give him credit for sufficient courage to withdraw Hur Bugwan Doss, only as far as Raj Ghat, two coss from Mooltan, on the right bank of the Chenab, though that would be quite as safe as if the rebel force were under the walls of Mooltan, supposing that I did not follow them up.

We may daily expect, therefore, to hear of the retreat of the enemy from Koreyshee, and it becomes necessary for me to make up my mind how to act under such circumstances.

Your instructions are distinct, to remain Trans-Indus, to secure the peace of this important frontier, which is of more consequence than the revenues of the Sind Sagur Doab. But it is very questionable whether inactivity on my part is consistent with the preservation of lasting peace in this quarter.

For, let us suppose the Daoopotra army to have reached Shoojabad. By the Nawab naming that place as suitable for my joining him, I take it he does not mean to go any further north this hot weather; in which case, the rebel forces will not be under the necessity which we contemplate, of shutting themselves up in the fort. At the utmost, they will encamp on the left bank of the Raj Ghât. In this position, they will correspond with Sirdar Jhunda Sing's force at Leia, the same as they did with mine at the same place; and, from Captain Ablott's account, the officers distrusted their men, even before they left Hazara. To expose such rotten troops to four months' tampering would be most unwise; and, at no time, could we be astonished to hear of their going over to Moolraj. Again, the Leia force is linked on to Bunnoo, by the Sowars at Dera Ismael Khan. That place is empty of regular troops, and

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deserting it as soon as good luck sets him the example. He has not twenty followers. Jowahir Mull, of Innabad, is making overtures to desert to us, with 200 men. I tell him to come, and not talk. Our cossids have great difficulty in penetrating their camp; one got his nose cut off the other day.

A circumstance came to my knowledge, to-day, of which no previous mention has been made that I am aware of. About the time when this rebellion broke out, several boats laden with military stores are said to have been on their way up the Indus, from Kurrachee to Ferozepore, for the British Government, and were intercepted, and seized, by the Kardar of Mittunkote. One boat heavily laden with stores, selected from the above (muskets, &c.,) has just been sent by the said Kardar to the enemy's camp at Koreyshee; but a Puthan zemindar and robber heard of the affair, and made a foray on the sepoys in charge, about 20 coss to the south of this place, and possessed himself of the prize. The boatmen, however, talked him over, told him that the stores belonged to the Sahib log, and that he would make a better thing by giving them up to me, than by keeping them. He approved the argument, and sent word of what had happened, and General Cortlandt has sent out twenty horsemen to accompany the boat hither. Have you any report of these boats being intercepted, from the Sind Government?

The Kardar of Mittunkote will not give us any trouble, I trust, after the fort of Hurrund, to the north of him, has been taken. The Futtch Pultun and Na sur Khan Populzye's party will then proceed to Mittunkote. In fact, as far as the country and people, Trans-Indus, are concerned, I have no anxieties whatever; any danger that threatens us is from the Sikh troops.

Inclosure 8 in No. 29.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 5, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter from Lieutenant Edwardes, dated Dera Ghazee Khan, the 27th ultimo.

His Lordship in Council will perceive that that enterprising and energetic officer has entirely succeeded in performing the duty assigned to him, of getting possession of, and holding, the whole of the Mooltan districts, Trans-Indus.

Lieutenant Edwardes has succeeded in raising, according to the instructions sent him by me, such a force of new troops (Mussulman) as to render him quite independent of the fidelity, or otherwise, of the Sikh Regiment, with which alone he commenced operations, just a month before the date of his last letter.

He is also, now, in a position to render it impossible for Moolraj's troops to force the passage of the Indus, for the sake of regaining the districts wrested from them on its right bank; and indeed, if need be, to act on the offensive.

If the chiefs of the Durbar, or any one individual among them, had shewn one-tenth part of the zeal, energy, and judgment exhibited by Lieutenant Edwardes, for the preservation of their Government, the Mooltan rebellion might have been put down, ere this.

But the chiefs are, collectively and individually, utterly without resource or energy: in a crisis like the present, they are quite useless, and, to all appearance, Durbar and all, as far as their actions go, quite indifferent as to what may be the result of the present state of things.

I have warned them, distinctly, openly in Durbar, and each member individually and personally, that, upon their conduct now, and the result of their exertions, depends the only chance that remains for the preservation of the Khalsa state.

In the mean time, Dewan Moolraj is by no means inactive; he is employing all his resources to raise a large army, and to equip it, to prepare his fort for a siege, and to gain over to his interests the Khalsa troops, and the Sikh people.

I am constantly at work, the Durbar merely acquiescing, to defeat the machinations of the Dewan, to confine the rebellion within the smallest limits, and to keep the Dewan and his troops to the neighbourhood of the city and fort of Mooltan, till after the rains, when the business will be easily settled, and when it matters little, as far as the British Government is concerned, whether the Khalsa army were to join Moolraj, or not.

I find it difficult to carry out my plans with any prospect of success; with instruments so bad, and so little to be depended upon, as those at my disposal.

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operate admirably with Lieutenant Edwardes. I trust, therefore, that if Lieutenant Lake is willing to proceed to Bahawulpore, the Governor-General in Council will sanction the arrangement, on my reporting its final adoption, which I will do, separately, if it takes place.

It is very desirable, now that the Nawab of Bahawulpore's troops are across the Sutlej, that a steamer or two should come up to Ferozepore; this will have a very good effect in protecting the traffic of the Sutlej, now very much interrupted, as well as being useful in communicating between the Bahawulpore camp and Ferozepore, and in aiding the passage of troops across the river, at Ferozepore, during the rains.

Inclosure 9 in No. 29.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Lahore, June 5, 1848.

THE account you give of the state of your force, is highly satisfactory, and reflects the greatest credit on your zeal and perseverance, which have raised the greater part of it, and made it what it is, in the short space of one month.

You are quite right to record, exactly, without extenuation, or exaggeration, all that takes place in connection with the operations in which your troops, or allies, are concerned. The excesses committed by persons unconnected with the troops, at Dera Ghazee Khan, are to be regretted, but, in the state of society which exists in the Derajat, are not to be wondered at.

You will, of course, mark your displeasure at the occurrence.

If the Durbar officials, and Sirdars, would do, for themselves, one-tenth part of what you are doing for them, the rebellion might be put down at once.

Inclosure 10 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dera Ghazee Khan, June 5, 1848.

THE enemy has received another defeat, at Alipore, in the lowest part of the Sind Sagur Doab. Jowahir Mull, of Imnabad, with 100 horse and 100 foot, made a forced march of nearly thirty coss, from the camp at Koreyshee, to seize a few thousand rupees of revenue, which had been collected by Sahib Purubdial, Kardar of Juttoe, and which had again fallen into the hands of the Zemindars, when they rose, and made Purubdial a prisoner, as before reported. Jowahir Mull was not aware that, in the interim, Moozooddeen Khan, Khaghwanee, an officer of the Nawab of Bahawulpore, had crossed the Sutlej, below Ooch, into the Seetpore district, with 1,500 men; and the consequence was, that he came plump into the middle of them, near Alipore, and I hear that, out of his 200 men, he left 109 dead upon the field, and himself with difficulty escaped, with the remainder, to Khangur, on the banks of the Chenab, opposite Shoojabad, whence he has, probably, continued his flight to Mooltan. You will have got the particulars, probably, from Peer Ibraheem Khan, before this reaches you.

When this information reached me, yesterday, it, immediately, occurred to me that the rebel army at Koreyshee would either retreat upon Mooltan, to escape from the toils closing around them, or else march against the weak party of Moozooddeen Khan, and revenge the defeat of Jowahir Mull. In the former case, it would be desirable to hasten their movements, and secure a footing on the other bank; and, in the latter, to assist the troops of Bahawul Khan would be imperative. This morning, therefore, I marched all our regular troops down to the river, and propose to follow, with the new levies, to-morrow. The strong fleet of eighty boats, of which we are master, has, likewise, been towed out of the nullah in which it was moored, and brought into the open river, in front of the camp. Every demonstration, in fact, has been made, of an intention to cross to the left bank at once, though, as I said in my last letter, I am not prepared to leave this side, without special reason, until some satisfactory settlement has been made at Hurrund, where the fort still holds out. Our detachment has, however, not yet reached it.

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My latest news of Bahawul Khan's main body, left it at Julalpore Khakran, which is only eight or nine coss from Shoojabad. At Shoojabad, there is a stout fort I understand, capable of making considerable resistance. It is intrusted to one Jummeut Racee, who is said to have 1,500 men with him. Had Moolraj moved his fleet of boats down from the Raj Ghat to Shoojabad, so as to enable the force, now at Koreyshee, to cross at Khangur, and collected all his moveable forces and artillery, around the fort of Shoojabad, Bahawul Khan's division could not have passed that place, without a general action. At present, it is difficult to tell on what point the Koreyshee force will retreat, but I think it probable they will not be in heart for so spirited a move as that I have mentioned, and will make for Raj Ghat and Mooltan, to-night. The night before last, they fired six guns, either to persuade me that they had won the fight at Alipore, or else to show that their guns were still at Koreyshee, preparatory to sending them away, by forced marches, to the Chenab, themselves remaining to cover the manœuvre. In the latter case, they will follow the Artillery to-night, and make Raj Ghat in two days. That something of this sort is brewing is clear from the increased vigilance with which they have watched the river, to prevent any spy from coming over from my camp; and this is now the second day that none of my messengers has returned.

This morning, I received the long expected letter from Gholam Mustapha Khan, Khaghwanee, in Mooltan. His silence, as I imagined, was caused by the absence from Mooltan, with the army sent against me, of all the Mooltanee Puthan Chiefs whose defection he had undertaken to accomplish, and his reluctance to write, until there was some prospect of success. He now writes that, on his return from my camp to Mooltan, he strongly urged Moolraj to surrender himself to me, but the Dewan rejected his advice, got angry when he pressed, and renewed his preparations for war. In this mood he is encouraged only by two of the Puthan officers, Ahmud Khan and Kalihdad Khan, who have brought their wives into the Fort of Mooltan: all the other Puthans have already removed their families, not only from the fort, but also the neighbourhood, and chiefly to Kumman-ke-Kote, whither you will remember Mustapha Khan proposed that they themselves should retire. In his present letter, he offers to leave Mooltan for Kumman-ke-Kote, as soon as Bahawul Khan's force crosses the river, but I have told him by no means to do so, but wait the return of all the Puthan officers to Mooltan, with the army now before us, and take them with him, as originally proposed. Mustapha Khan's letter is ten days old, yet it contains the significant sentence, "The crisis is at hand."

At the rebellious fort of Hurrund, 100 of the Puthan sowars of the garrison have engaged to come over, but are unwilling to turn upon the rest of the garrison. Probably, their desertion will force the others to follow their example. The country round Hurrund belongs to the Goorchuree tribe of Beloochees, whose equals, for all kinds of violence and lawlessness, are not to be found in this border, and, were they on the same side as the rebels in the fort, its reduction would be a very serious affair; fortunately, they are all with us, burning to distinguish themselves as Kowra Khan and the Khosa clan have done.

Indeed, the whole of my newly raised Puthan levies are in just the temper that could be wished. War is their trade, and also their pastime. They like it. They have met with one or two successes at the outset, and are persuaded that the "Ikbāl" is on their side, and my task is to restrain their impatience, which is a good omen when hard blows are to the fore. Their pay is good (six rupees a footman, and fifteen rupees a sowar,) and they are all satisfied. They muster now nearly 3,000 men; General Cortlandt has levied nearly 2,000 more; so that a strong division can still be left Trans-Indus, to preserve the peace of the frontier, whenever it may be necessary to send reinforcements to Bahawul Khan.

By a private note from Lieutenant Taylor, I learn that he has dispatched to us another regiment from Bunnoo, viz., General Cortlandt's Kuthar Mookhe Pultun, a strong body of Poorbeahs. This is quite contrary to my wishes, and, once before, I sent back eight companies of Infantry, which Lieutenant Taylor sent to our relief. The disinterested generosity of the action claims my warmest acknowledgments, for I know it to be one of the only two regiments on which that officer could really rely to stand by him in case of a military revolt, and I shall not refuse the reinforcement, now that more active operations lie before me on the other bank, for the argument which Lieutenant Taylor uses to press it upon me, is such as might be expected from his judgment, viz., that his safety depends on my success, not on the strength of his own position. It would be an injustice, however, to him were I not to state what none but myself can be fully aware of, that the extraordinary security of Bunnoo,

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has been a picket sent to Leyrah, to watch for the coming of our fleet, which is the bugbear of their camp. It is worthy of notice that the soldiers all wish to retire upon Mooltan, at once, while they can, but that move is not to be undertaken without Dewan Moolraj's orders, to obtain which, Misr Kool Jus has been deputed by them to Mooltan. This quite disposes of the Dewan's plea that he has no command over his men.

The Dewan's officers are conducting themselves with great violence towards the Zemindars on the left bank, and have now confined all the Panches of villages, to make them advance the revenue at once.

This morning, I received letters, both from Peer Ibraheem Khan, and the Nawab of Bahawulpore, of a very unsatisfactory nature. The former writes that the main body of Daoodpotras under Futteh Mohamed Ghoree is still idling at Julalpore Peronwallah, and that the Commander replies to all his remonstrances, by inquiring,—“Why Edwardes Sahib does not come on, and join him?” This is a good joke, that I am to force the Indus, in June, in the teeth of an equal foe; cut them into little pieces; and then march across the Sind Sagur Doab, and swim the Chenab (guns and all) for want of boats; to enable Futteh Mahomed Ghoree, a timid veteran of eighty, to march an army of 7,000 or 8,000 men, twenty coss along the Mooltan road, with nothing in front of him but the fort of Shoojabad, in which there are 332 footmen, thirteen sowars, and two rattle-trap guns! What is worse, the Nawab does not see, or pretends not to see, the absurd pusillanimity of this proceeding, or rather this standing still. He actually backs the request of Futteh Mahomed Ghoree, and reproaches me, as broadly as good breeding will allow, with not keeping my promise to join him. I have, politely, yet firmly, defended myself from this accusation, by requesting the Nawab to re-peruse my letter, wherein I, distinctly, set before him two lines of action; first, to cross the Sutlej at Julalpore, and advance on Mooltan, without my co-operation, if he was strong enough to do so, and so compel Moolraj to recall the Koreyshee army; and secondly, if he was not strong enough to go alone, then, to co-operate with me, by crossing the Sutlej at Dummar, below Seetpore, and advancing on Khangur, where I would join him (even this last would seem a rash promise; but I relied on the enemy's common sense to retire from between two parallel armies). The Nawab, in reply, dispensed with my co-operation, as I reported to you at the time, and advanced by Julalpore, yet he now sticks irresolute in the middle of his purpose, and calls on me to do mad things, without the least occasion. He thinks he clenches his appeal, by sending me a copy of your Moorasila consenting to his crossing by the Seetpore route, and authorizing me, in that case, to join him between the Sind and the Chenab. At this very moment, I have not got your sanction to cross the Chenab, under any circumstances, though of course I should do so, if events, of which you were ignorant, demanded such a step.

It is most unfortunate, this hesitation of Bahawul Khan, for the mere marching on, two or three more marches, would, as we have all along calculated, force Moolraj to withdraw the Koreyshee force; I should, then, cross and follow them up to the Chenab, when all the rebels, wedged in between Bahawul Khan and me, would take refuge in the fort of Mooltan. As it is, the crossing of Bahawul Khan has effected nothing; and only exhibited to Moolraj a fourth converging column, which has not the courage to converge. (I allude to those of Raja Shere Sing, Sheik Emam-ooddeen, and Jowahir Mull Dutt, all of which are as good as none here).

I have tried to stir up the Khan, by assuring him that if he will only tell me, plainly, that his army cannot go on any further, without my coming to its assistance, I will, immediately, force the Indus at all hazards, as there will then be no other alternative except leaving the rebels in possession of the field for the hot weather. Of the result of a general action between my own force and that at Koreyshee, I have no doubt whatever; my only argument is, that such an expenditure of human lives is quite superfluous, if Bahawul Khan will only make the demonstration which he has got so much credit, from you, and all of us, for undertaking to make, and which, moreover, would not cost him a man.

The truth is, that Bahawul Khan, with all his undoubted and sincere attachment to our Government, and readiness to prove it, mingles, like most mortals, a leaven of selfishness in his virtue. He has, I rather think, an eye to those districts south of Mooltan, and about Seetpore, &c., which formerly belonged to Bahawulpore; and, perhaps, calculating on a further dismemberment of the refractory Sikh empire, has already laid down in his own mind the boundary pillars of the share which is to reward his present co-operation. Hence, the anxiety for which you could not account.

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discretion, to act as you think best, as circumstances may arise ; I can do no more than tell you, generally, my views and purposes, and the part, in the general scheme of operations, which I look to you to perform.

'The great object is, to confine the Mooltan rebellion within the smallest compass, till we can put a final extinguisher on it, by capturing the fort.

'To do this, the best plan, undoubtedly, is, to shut Moolraj up in his fort, till the British force arrives there.

But we must, at the same time, secure, if possible, the tranquillity of our important frontier.

The latter depends very much ; perhaps, entirely ; on the former. If the Mooltan rebellion were to spread much, the Khalsa troops would, undoubtedly, join Moolraj.

At present, you are in a very secure position ; for defence, you are quite safe ; but your's and Bahawul Khan's are the only forces that can be relied on, for offensive operations.

If you have an opportunity of co-operating with Bahawul Khan, you should do so ; but you must bear in mind the fatal consequences that would result from Moolraj's army getting an advantage over you, and you must risk as little as possible.

With these general instructions, I must leave you unfettered, to act according as circumstances render it most expedient that you should, with a view to attaining the great object in view.

I have every confidence in your zeal and judgment, and do not doubt your discretion.

I cannot, yet, get a return of Bahawul Khan's force, or find out the strength of any of his detachments. I am apprehensive that, by crossing at four places, as I understand he has, he may have dispersed his troops too much. I can only hear of 1,000 cavalry being in the Sind Doab, and this is an insufficient force for that quarter, in which alone is Moolraj in a position to offer any serious opposition to him.

It is highly desirable, that an intelligent British officer should be with the Bahawulpore troops ; and as Lieutenant Becher, who would have done very well for the duty, has gone to Mount Aboo, and is, therefore, out of reach, I have deputed Lieutenant Lake, of the Engineers, to Bahawulpore ; and I send you, herewith, a copy of my letter of instructions to him.

I have never heard of the seizure of seven boats laden with ordnance stores from Kurrachee to Ferozepore, said to have been seized at Mittunkote, and think that it cannot have been the case ; had these boats been seized, as stated, the military authorities would, doubtless, have reported the fact to me. Moreover, ordnance-stores are not sent from the Bombay Presidency to the Bengal Stations of the Army, I am pretty sure.

You will have heard that Bhace Maharaj's party has been completely cut up, drowned, or captured near Jhung ; he himself is said to have been drowned in attempting to swim across the Chenab, in which attempt some hundreds of his followers perished.

The reason for authorizing the remission to those of the Mooltan Malgoozars who should at once come forward and pay their revenue to the Durbar, was, that it was generally stated, that the Mooltan districts were much over assessed, and were, accordingly, looking for the arrival of the British officers, on the retirement of Moolraj, to extend to them the same indulgences which had been shown to the Lahore zemindars in the late assessments, extending, in many instances, to a full third of the former nominal annual revenue ; and it was deemed by me expedient to mark our disposition to treat the Mooltan zemindars, on their coming directly under the Durbar administration, with the same kindness and consideration which had been shown to the other provinces of the Punjab.

The condition attached to the indulgence was the immediate payment of the Rubbee Kist to the Lahore officials.

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fort, will maintain an annoying blockade, which, combined with the news of the retreat of the Koreyshee army, will, perhaps, induce the garrison to forego their expressed intention of yielding only when Mooltan falls.

General Cortlandt will return to Dera Ghazee Khan from the Chenab, whenever I either join Bahawal Khan before Shoojabad, or take up my stand at Raj Ghat for the rest of the season. I take him with me so far, in case we should have to engage the enemy between the Indus and Chenab, when his sound military knowledge, courage, and acquaintance with his men would be invaluable. Indeed, all is so peaceful in our rear (Trans-Indus), that he feels a natural dislike to be left behind. His civil arrangements in this district are completed, and Nassur Khan Populzye, with the Futteh Pultun, will now leave Hurrund, and proceed to settle Mittunkote. Still, I beg you to understand that General Cortlandt will not be absent a fortnight, from his immediate duties.

I will write again from the left bank, but have no time now to give more than an outline of affairs.

A report has reached camp, that Bhace Maharaj Sing, with 300 followers, has arrived at Mooltan.

Jowahir Mull Dutt and Sirdar Jhunda Sing have already written to inform me of three Sikhs having deserted from the Cherunjeet regiment of cavalry, and two from Dhara Sing's infantry. They have begun early.

Inclosure 16 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Seyrah Dewan Wallah, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite
Dera Ghazee Khan, June 11, 1848:*

YESTERDAY, I reported to you my intention to cross the Indus. I have, now, to inform you, that with about 2,500 of my newly raised Puthans, and 10 guns, I effected the passage, before nightfall, without accident; and, sending back the fleet of boats to General Cortlandt under a favoring south wind, encamped, in a half moon, on the river's edge, at this place. Traces of the enemy were fresh upon the ground, bridges having been thrown by them over all the nullahs, to enable them to bring their great guns against us at this spot, and coolies coming back every moment from the rebel camp at Khangur, whither they had been pressed to carry baggage. Khangur is only nine coss from this, and four or five from Shoojabad, on the other side of the Chenab, which was evidently the point they were making for, and not Mooltan, as was generally supposed yesterday.

A glance at the map will show you what an excellent move this is; so excellent, indeed, that it is difficult to say which is most culpable; Dewan Moolraj for not making it before, or Nawab Bahawal Khan for not preventing him from making it at all. Had Futteh Mahomed Khan Ghoree not halted, like an old woman, at Julal-pore Peronwallah, but pushed on to Shoojabad, as was all along proposed and understood that he should do, that fort would, at this moment, be unsupported, and might have been passed, without any fear of its small garrison creating mischief in the rear. The Nawab's troops would, then, have got between it and Mooltan; and the Dewan in front, and the Shoojabad garrison in the rear, would have been greatly out manœuvred. As it is, not only has the Koreyshee force gone off to reinforce that garrison, but, by a letter, dated 8th of June, received this morning from Peer Ibraheem Khan (still at Peronwallah Julal-pore!) I learn that 2,000 men and 4 guns have been sent by Moolraj thither from Mooltan, and from other quarters. I hear that Hakim Race and Sadik Mahomed Khan, who were at Maharajghur with 2 guns and 2,000 men, have also been ordered down to Shoojabad. The long and short of it is, that Moolraj has ordered his whole force to concentrate on Shoojabad; and the Daood-potra force will not be able to get within 20 coss of Mooltan, without fighting a general action.

When we arrived here last night, I dispatched intelligence to Moozooddeen Khan, Khagwhanee, who, with 2,000 men and a few guns, has, as you are aware, been

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Inclosure 17 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Seyrah Dewan Wallah, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite
Ferry of Ghazee Khan, Night, June 12, 1848.*

THE relative positions of the four forces remain, much the same as yesterday. The last cossid from the camp of Futteh Mahomed Khan Ghoree left him still at Julalpore Peronwallah; but a distant salute, just now heard, leads me to hope that, hearing of our crossing the Indus, he has advanced to Kot Abil Shah, where his vanguard, under command of a reputed good soldier, Ubdool Khalik Khan, was previously posted. Moozodeen Khan, Khaghwanee, moved a few coss to-day, from Ghullooan to Julharee, and writes that he will reach Sooltan Shuhr to-morrow. Hur Bugwan Doss, with the fugitive rebel force, is pitched to the east of the town of Khangur, half a coss from the river, awaiting, as he says, the orders of Moolraj, either to cross the Chenab to Shoojabad, or to stand and fight when I come up. A villager has brought in news of his crossing his artillery; but, as yet, it wants confirmation. Our own troops are, as yet, not near over the Indus. The boats are going and coming continually, but, at this season, it is quite a voyage across. I don't think we shall be all collected on this bank, before the day after to-morrow. No delay will then occur in our advance.

An intelligent cossid in my employ has brought interesting intelligence from Mooltan, whither I sent him some days ago, with a verbal message to Mustapha Khan Khaghwanee, asking for an explanation of his silence. In reply, Mustapha Khan sends word, "That the absence of all the Puthan officers with the Koreyshee force, has prevented him from carrying out the plan agreed upon; that he thought I would scarcely thank him for deserting Moolraj alone, without bringing all his friends along with him; and that he is not without hopes of inducing Moolraj himself to surrender. Moolraj wished Mustapha Khan to take command of the reinforcements he was sending to Shoojabad; but the Khan declined the appointment, and, once more, urged the folly of continuing this hopeless struggle. The Dewan got angry, and the Khan requested to have twenty-four hours' leave of absence, to go and see to the defences of Kummun Kote, where his family has been placed for safety. Moolraj declared he could not spare him, as he wanted him to go as his vakeel to the Lord Sahib at Delhi. Mustapha Khan asked, what business he had with such distant officials? If he intended to surrender, he had better do so to me, at once. Ultimately, the Dewan gave him leave to go to Kummun Kote, for twenty-four hours, and promised to send him to me on his return. From Kummun Kote, Mustapha Khan wrote to Peer Ibraheem Khan at Julalpore, that he should certainly go back, and make a last effort to bring in the Dewan. On his return to Mooltan, Moolraj so far listened to Mustapha Khan's advice as to consent to withdraw the Koreyshee force, but said that he thought the return of that force to Mooltan, would render his surrender impossible, and that it would, perhaps, be better to leave them to be destroyed by me! Mustapha Khan very sensibly observed, that if a general action was fought between Hur Bugwan Doss and me, it would close the door of mercy on him for ever. If he (the Dewan) was sincere in wishing to surrender, let him recall the Koreyshee force over the Chenab, and halt them on the left bank, and then, summoning the Puthan officers from among them, get them and their adherents into the fort, close the gates, and then write for me. The Dewan half seemed persuaded; and, if the Koreyshee force really retired, I was to consider it a symptom of Moolraj being inclined to give in, but, at any rate, if, when all the Puthan officers were assembled, they failed to induce the Dewan to go over with them in a body to me, I might rely on the whole of them retiring from Mooltan to Kummun Kote, and remaining there throughout the rebellion.

You are inclined, I think, to distrust Mustapha Khan's sincerity, of which I am as much convinced, and the result alone can decide the question. Meanwhile, you will not have overlooked the testimony borne to his trustworthiness, by both the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Peer Ibraheem Khan. In reply, I have sent a verbal

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A party of three jemadars and three sowars of the Guide Corps, on whom Lieutenant Lumsden thought he could place full reliance, were sent to associate themselves with the Bhaee, and give information of his proceedings. This they did, for a short time, but their information was never of any value; they were, of course, Sikhs, or they could not have been admitted into his company.

About a month ago, Bhaee Maharaj Sing's followers became more formidable in numbers and description; instead of a few horsemen, with whom he went silently from village to village, he entertained armed soldiers, both horse and foot, to the amount of some hundreds; he had evidently the command of large funds; for he fed the poor wherever he went, and distributed money to those who came for service.

About this time, he removed to the extremity of the plain districts, and remained, for a short time, in the neighbourhood of Deenanuggur, near the foot of the hills. Here the number of his armed followers increased considerably; he no longer pretended to elude the authorities, but he paraded the villages with drums, and with an immense retinue.

When his followers became so many, he was unable to move from place to place as quickly, and as unobserved, as before, and I was in hopes that, by a sudden raid upon him from the nearest military post, he might be taken, and his followers punished and dispersed.

I sent, at this time, Lieutenant Hodson, adjutant of the Guide Corps, with a few guides, round to Mookerian, with orders from the General to the officer commanding at that station, to attend to any requisition he might make for military aid, that he might be ready, with a party of irregular cavalry, if possible, to surprise his camp.

Deenanuggur is about 100 miles from Lahore. When Lieutenant Hodson had started, I despatched from Lahore the 14th Irregulars with two guns of the native troop of horse artillery, to drive the party from that neighbourhood, and to prevent them re-assembling.

The presence of the Bhaee with his force had attracted the attention of the authorities of Jullundur, who were apprehensive of his crossing the border to plunder the Company's districts; and arrangements were made for strengthening the weaker points, and protecting the frontier.

I had no hope that the Bhaee would let the force I had sent from this get near him. I knew that, whatever might be the number of his adherents, directly he heard that a British force had moved against him, he would go off with all speed.

The local officers, kardars, adawlutees, and thannadars, had all of them strict orders with their sowars, to seize the Bhaee and his followers. It was soon evident that these officials not only had no intention of obeying their orders, and were conniving at his proceedings, but that some of them were in communication with him, and were actually aiding him.

The second day after the irregulars and guns left Lahore, Bhaee Maharaj Sing quitted the Ravce Doab, and crossed the Ravce with his armed followers, proclaiming now, for the first time, that he was raising troops to join and assist Dewan Moolraj, in his rebellion against the Government. It was now ascertained that there was an agent of Moolraj's in his camp, who supplied funds for the raising of soldiers, horse and foot.

There was a good deal of excitement on the frontier, in the neighbourhood of Deenanuggur, and it was thought advisable by me that the Irregulars and guns should proceed to that spot, and remain there, for a while, with Lieutenant Hodson, till affairs became more settled. The position is a good one, as communicating with Mookerian, Hajeepore, Puthankote, and Noorpoor, military posts in the Jullundur division, any of which could co-operate with Captain Skinner, if the necessity should arise.

After Bhaee Maharaj crossed the Ravce, the disaffection of the people became more open, and unrestrained. The villages in that neighbourhood are almost all Sikh, and were, in Runjeet Sing's time, always turbulent and unruly.

Whole villages went out to meet the Bhaee and his retinue. They fed his army (for he had now some thousands of armed followers, perhaps, at one time, between 5,000 and 6,000) gratis, and brought offerings of sweetmeats, fruit, &c.; and, from every village, numbers of recruits joined his train; while the Kardars, with their police and soldiers, pretending to be following him, for the purpose of arresting his progress, encamped quietly, within a mile or two of him, on the best terms possible.

It is not to be supposed that all this was allowed to pass without attracting my attention, and without inducing me to take measures for counteracting the schemes of Bhaee Maharaj Sing and his supporters.

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along the line of country desired, towards Jhung. The Khans stuck close to them, constantly alarming them with the report that the dragoons were upon them. They ran, almost night and day, to Jhung, which they reached, on the evening of the third day.

Misr Sahib Dyal was as good as his word, and he and his people kept their promise faithfully.

On arriving at Jhung, the Bhace's force had diminished to about 1,000 or 1,200 men: the Misr's party immediately attacked them; and, though really inferior in numbers, they were fresh, while their opponents were hungry, and tired by a long, and harassing, retreat.

A great many of the rebels were killed in the encounter, and three or four of the Misr's men, and ten or twelve wounded. The whole rebel force was driven into the Chenab, a difficult river to cross at all times, and now formidable, from being much swollen by the rains and the melted snow. It is calculated that from 500 to 600 horse and foot perished in the river—among the rebels, Bhace Maharaj. Some fifty or sixty got across, and a great part of these were captured, by a party ready for them on the other side.

Three hundred of the rebels got on to an island in the river, and were kept there, by the Misr's force and the Mahomedans, for three days and nights, exposed to the climate, without shelter or food; at the close of the third day, they piled their arms and clothes together, and surrendered unconditionally; when, they were taken off by the Misr's soldiers in boats, and put into confinement in Jhung.

The Bhace's four officers, Sikhs of some note, were among the prisoners on the island, and are now on their way into Lahore, in irons.

Dewan Moolraj was looking with anxious expectation for the arrival of this party. He has, for the last three weeks, had a force about twenty-five miles from Jhung, on the other side the Chenab, with three guns, waiting for Bhace Maharaj, through whose influence he hoped to win over the Khalsa troops, and all the Sikhs of the Manjha. The eyes of the army were also fixed, with the utmost interest on Bhace Maharaj's proceedings.

I have heard of a party of twenty-five men arriving at Mooltan, with tidings of the Bhace and his host having perished in the Chenab; and I fancy this party constitutes nearly the whole of the survivors of those who accompanied him to Jhung, with the exception of the prisoners in our hands.

I will, in my next, report the measures I have taken, and am taking, for punishing those who were the abettors of Bhace Maharaj Sing, in his rebellion against his sovereign, and the British Government.

P.S.—I was, for some days, sceptical as to the death of Bhace Maharaj Sing. I thought he had been hidden somewhere, perhaps, by his followers; for the respect and veneration with which he was regarded is most extraordinary; but there seems no reason to doubt that he is drowned. Two of the prisoners, taken on the other side of the river, say that they saw him nearly half across the Chenab, swimming with hold of his celebrated black mare's tail; that they saw him lose his hold, and disappear; after which, they saw him no more. The mare got safe to land, alone, on the other side.

Inclosure 19 in No. 29.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Lahore, June 13, 1848.

RAJA SHERE SING'S force is now at Cheechawultun, and ready to move forward; but, though it is composed of all the Sirdars in the Punjab almost, the Jagheerदार horse, Shere Sing's own artillery, and the two regiments supposed to be the best affected, and most subordinate, I dare not advance them to a point where there is probability of collision with Moolraj's troops, till Bahawul Khan, or yourself, have gained some further advantage over the Dewan; and it becomes evident to all that the game is up with him.

The whole Sikh army is faithless to the Maharajah; a strong desire to aid Moolraj pervades all the soldiers, but they are not heroes enough to join a falling standard: a few more reverses to Moolraj, and the fidelity of the troops is secure.

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greybeard Goorchurrahs from the Manjha, and showed their teeth a good deal, when their numbers were reduced in February by invaliding and discharge.

A cossid of mine who was seized by the enemy in the Koreyshee camp, some days ago, and whose beard they have shaved off as a punishment, escaped yesterday from their hands, and came back this morning. He relates that Soonjassee Fakeer, in his presence, related to the soldiers in Hur Bugwan's camp how he had taken the document to Bunnoo, and how the Sikhs there had regretted that Edwardes Sahib had sent them back to Bunnoo, when they were on their way to reinforce him; thus depriving them of the opportunity of joining Moolraj.

Peer Ibraheem Khan writes, that the force under Futteh Mahomed Khan Ghoree has, at last, marched three coss towards Mooltan.

Hur Bugwan Doss's army crossed the Chenab yesterday; and, this morning, part of it, under Hur Bugwan and Jowahir Mull, re-crossed to the right bank, and again took possession of Khangur, with what object is not yet apparent; but the move is so bold, and apparently desperate, that I am almost afraid it has been made in the expectation of the rest of the force with Jowahir Mull Dutt, and Sirdar Jhunda Sing, including the artillery, joining the rebels at Khangur. The sooner I can strike a blow at them, therefore, the better; and as General Cortlandt has now joined me, and reports that all the force will be over to-morrow, I intend to advance the day after on Khangur, halt within a coss or so of it, and engage the rebels the next morning.

P.S.—*Noon, June 14.*—I have detained the dâk in hopes of being able to give you more certain information of the enemy's intentions at Khangur. The chief Zemindar of that place has just come in, with the news that another change of plans took place yesterday at noon. Hur Bugwan Doss and his army abandoned Khangur, as hastily as they had returned, and crossed the Chenab to Shoojabad, in the comprehensive language of the Mullick, "not leaving a dog behind."

The reason of their return at all to Khangur is described to have been of the kind anticipated in this letter, "the Dewan having written to say that he expected an important reinforcement, through the means of some Gooroo who had joined him," but a subsequent express from Mooltan informed Bugwan Doss that Bahawul Khan's force at Julalpore had been also reinforced to so great an extent as to render it necessary for Moolraj to muster all his strength to oppose him. This is as it should be. The combination is now working, and, let the Dewan do what he likes, I trust firmly that he has not many more days to keep the field.

Inclosure 21 in No. 29.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Khangur, on the right bank of the Chenab,
June 15, 1848.*

THE whole of our troops having completed the passage of the Indus yesterday afternoon, I marched, with 3,000 Puthan Irregulars, horse and foot, and 20 zumboorahs, from that river to this, this morning. The distance across the Doab here is not more than twenty miles, but, there being a good deal of sand in the middle of it, the regular troops, guns, ammunition, carts, &c., were unable to make so long a march, and will not be up till to-morrow.

Khangur has an extensive fort, but the enemy had abandoned it entirely, as I believe they have also the two smaller forts of Mozuffurnuggur and Ghuzurpoor Gurh, in the neighbourhood. The only soldiers of Dewan Moolraj that I am aware of, on this side of the Chenab, are a party under Sadik Mahomed Khan at Maharajghur, in the Jhung direction, and that officer is about to desert to us.

This evening, my cossid returned from taking a message to Mustapha Khan in Mooltan, and brought the important news, that Dewan Moolraj had sent the whole of his disposable force of men and guns, against Futteh Mahomed Khan Ghoree's division, which is moving on Shoojabad. The force is put under the command of Rung Ram, the man who was wounded by a soldier on the outbreak of the rebellion, for advising Moolraj to fly to the Sahib log. Moolraj's orders are positive to fight Bahawul Khan's army before I come up, and the day fixed for the battle is the day

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The Sikh troops are far worse than useless; even in this rebellion against their own Government, they are not only not to be depended on, but they are certain, in the event of an opportunity for successful collision, to take part with the rebel interest.

This is felt, and acknowledged, by every Sirdar in the country.

At the same time, they form the disciplined army of the country, and have in their hands all the artillery and munitions of war.

I am obliged, therefore, in appearance, to make use of their agency, while, in reality, my chief concern is to keep them from action, at any rate, till the success of the rebellion is altogether hopeless.

The force marching down the Sind Sagur Doab, under Sirdar Jhunda Sing, is composed of Sikh regulars and Mahomedan levies, in about equal proportions. I intended that the latter should predominate; but the whole complement which I ordered, has not been raised.

The Sikhs were, as nearly as possible, going off, bodily, a few days ago, to Mooltan, from which they are still distant about 100 miles.

On entering the Mooltan districts, a few desertions took place, which alarmed Sirdar Jhunda Sing and the other officers much. They soon found proof of what I had all along more than suspected, that the whole of the Sikh portion was disaffected, and only awaited an opportunity to desert to Mooltan.

On the night of the 8th instant, the Churunjeet regiment of cavalry broke into open mutiny; the Sirdars succeeded, with some difficulty, in preventing the artillery, and the infantry regiment, from joining them. Two hundred and fifty-three of the cavalry, with their troop officers, left the main body, and started off, with expressions of defiance, to Leia, on their way to Mooltan.

On the arrival of the deserters at Leia, they heard, as I conclude, of the destruction of Bhaee Maharaj Sing and his followers, the capture of his adherents, and the punishment of his abettors; also, of the retreat of Moolraj's troops from Koreyshee, and of the crossing into the Sind Sagur Doab, between themselves and Mooltan, of Lieutenant Edwardes', now formidable, force. They discovered, I fancy, that the accounts they had heard of Moolraj's position in Mooltan were not quite correct, and that, in deserting to join him, they had committed somewhat of a mistake.

They refused, therefore, the zeafut of 700 rupees, which was offered them by the Kardar of Leia, and sent emissaries to Sirdar Jhunda Sing, begging to be allowed to return to their duty; and that he would intercede for them with me to obtain their pardon.

This has just been reported to me. I shall direct Jhunda Sing to tell them that they are perfectly at liberty to take their own course; if they return, at once, to him, they will be treated as deserters, and dealt with accordingly; if they proceed to join Moolraj, or any of his detachments, they will be treated as traitors to their Sovereign.

Inclosure 23 in No. 29.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 20, 1848.

THE extent of the desertion of the Churunjeet regiment, mentioned by Lieutenant Edwardes, is not so great, hitherto, as Lieutenant Edwardes thought.

Two hundred and fifty-three sowars, with their troop officers, went off, and used their best endeavours to induce the infantry and artillery to go off with them. They have, as yet, gone no further than Leia, where they have gained a Kardar of Dewan Moolraj's, who was about to run off to Mooltan, when they arrived, and persuaded him to remain, stating that the rest of the Churunjeet regiment, with the infantry and cavalry, would join them, on the arrival of the force at Leia.

What Lieutenant Edwardes says of the whole Sikh army is true, I believe; they are all of them traitors in heart and purpose, and want only a favorable and safe opportunity to rise against the Government.

The Churunjeet regiment thought they had found this opportunity; they believed that Bhaee Maharaj Sing was marching in triumph to Mooltan, and they credited the reports, industriously spread by Moolraj's adherents, of his extensive and increasing influence and power.

On arriving at Leia, they discovered that Bhaee Maharaj Sing and his numerous host were destroyed; and they heard that, if they proceeded to Mooltan, instead of finding Dewan Moolraj in the plenitude of power that they expected, they would

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officers, counselled patience, and begged them not to make a rash attack, until the evening, when more men and guns would come across, from General Cortlandt's camp, on the right bank. They promised not to advance, till I gave the word, and I proceeded to my own division, on the left.

From this time till 3 o'clock, P.M., the firing, on both sides, scarcely slackened, and as the guns were all on the right, with the Daoodpotras, the Nawab's troops had to bear the chief brunt of the long bowls throughout the day. However, we got our turn. By 3 o'clock, the enemy had approached so close as to be able to reconnoitre our position, and, having little or no cavalry, we could not drive back their numerous parties of horse, dispatched to discover our weak point. This they effectually did; and at 3, P.M., left the Daoodpotras alone, and turned their whole fire on the left. The galling volleys poured into the new levies, at this time, were enough to shake older troops; and their impatience to be led on to strike a blow, in their own defence, was most difficult to restrain. It was, indeed, an anxious moment, for I had not a gun to return a shot, and I felt certain that General Cortlandt would not fail me, but send the guns for which I had written, by 3 o'clock.

At half-past 3, the enemy, despising our zumboorahs, had pushed up to within a few hundred yards of us; and I was just contemplating the sad necessity of making an unsupported charge, when, in the very nick of time, the guns came up, and, with them, the two regular regiments,—one, General Cortlandt's well-disciplined Sooruj Mookhee, and the other, Sobhan Khan's regiment of Mussulmans. Calling them to the front, and taking command of them myself, in the absence of General Cortlandt, (who had remained on the right bank, by my orders, to cross the force), I gave the long-wished-for word, to emerge from the jungle, and fall upon the rebels.

I feel unable to do justice to the gallantry with which this order was obeyed. Men, whom I had only enlisted a month ago, shook their swords with a will, and rushed upon the rebel cavalry with the most desperate and irresistible valour. The fight was hand-to-hand in five minutes, and the opposing guns were pouring grape into each other, almost within speaking distance. For half an hour, fighting could not have been harder, and we were left entirely to ourselves, the Daoodpotras being either engaged on their own account, or thinking they had done enough.

At a little before four, Commandant Sobhan Khan, at the head of his Mussulman regiment, made the bravest sally I ever saw, upon a single gun of the enemy, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Confusion fell among their artillery; our's advanced, and cruelly harassed them with grape; the infantry followed up; a momentary struggle ensued for the mastery, and, the next minute, the rebels were in full flight. Bravely, I must allow, did they labor to carry off their guns; but, one by one, they all fell to either the sword, or the bayonet. In the morning, they commenced the action with ten guns, and, in the afternoon, advanced with six, across a nullah which was between them and us; leaving four guns behind. All six are now in our possession; but they managed to carry off the more distant four, though we followed them up for two coss after they broke.

God be praised for a most signal victory, gained under the most discouraging circumstances; but to be followed, I hope, by most encouraging results. All have behaved well, many nobly. Our loss is not yet known, nor that of the enemy.

Scouts are, already, after the latter, and I will let you know to-morrow where they halt; but, most probably, it will not be before they reach Mooltan, after the defeat they have got to-day at Kineyrce.

Inclosure 25 in No. 29.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 22, 1848.

THE Governor-General in Council will, I am sure, consider the zealous and judicious arrangements of Lieutenant Edwardes, for forming the desired junction with Nawab Bahawal Khan's army, as deserving his Lordship's entire approbation, and the energy, skill, and courage displayed by him, in the operations of the 18th of June, as entitling him to the highest praise of the Government of India.

The native agent, Peer Ibraheem Khan, writing from another part of the field, by the same messenger that brought Lieutenant Edwardes' letter, confirms his statement in every particular, and dwells much on the intrepidity and judgment evinced by that officer.

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No. 30.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

July 10, 1848. (No. 59.)

WE forward a letter from the Resident at Lahore, dated the 27th ultimo, with its inclosures, being letters from Lieutenant Edwardes dated the 17th and 22nd ultimo, and from the Resident to Lieutenant Edwardes dated the 27th ultimo.

Lieutenant Edwardes' letter of the 22nd ultimo describes his movements after the successful action, reported in the postscript of our last dispatch. His force, combined with that of the Nawab Bahawul Khan, amounts, it appears, to 18,000 men, with 30 guns, but the guns are none of them such as would make any impression on fortifications.

P.S.—We have just received a further important dispatch from Sir F. Currie*. The Resident, upon receiving Lieutenant Edwardes' letter of the 22nd ultimo, consulted Major Napier, of the Engineers, upon the feasibility of operations against Mooltan, under the present altered position of affairs there. Major Napier has given his opinion that "operations are perfectly practicable, and may be undertaken with every prospect of success." A single brigade, with 10 guns and 20 mortars and howitzers, is now considered sufficient. The Resident has, accordingly, directed that this force be held in readiness, and it will proceed to Mooltan, immediately the Commander-in-Chief's acquiescence is communicated.

Inclosure 1 in No. 30.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident.

*Camp, Gaggianwallah Ferry, on the right bank of the
Chenab, 9 coss south of Khangur and Shoojabad.*

June 17, 1848.

I HAVE to thank you for the confidence you repose in me, in leaving me "unfettered, to act according as circumstances render it most expedient that I should, for the purpose of obtaining the great object in view;" without this, indeed, my position would be still more difficult than it is; and the army I have enlisted, be reduced to inutility. The operation now going on is a good illustration—Dewan Moolraj has concentrated his whole force, for one decisive effort against the Daoodpotra army, east of the Chenab, with the avowed intention of destroying that army and mine, successively and separately, and so ridding himself of the only enemies he sees in the field. It is quite possible that the Daoodpotra army (which, by my advice, has, in the course of the last two days, strengthened itself, by calling in its detachments west of the Chenab and south-east of Mooltan) would be equal to encountering the Moolraj troops, but they, evidently, were not of that opinion themselves, and, repeatedly, called on me to come to their assistance. The impolicy, also, of leaving them to run the risk was sufficiently obvious, when the event could be made certain by junction, yet I had no authority from you to cross the Chenab; and only a reluctant permission to cross the Indus, under pressing emergency.

In resolving to follow the Koreyshee army across the Chenab, and unite with Bahawul Khan's troops, I have been obliged to incur the, at all times, dangerous responsibility to a political officer, of acting contrary to orders, and it is a relief to me, on the very bank of the forbidden river, to receive your kind and considerate carte blanche.

I am happy to inform you that the heavy firing heard by us at Khangur, yesterday morning, in the direction of the Daoodpotra camp, turned out, not to be an engagement with the enemy, but a prolonged feu-de-joie of artillery, on hearing of our rapid approach to their assistance.

Inclosure 5 in No. 30.

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will not now be required. Still, after what has happened, if the British arm is raised at all, it must be with power to strike a blow that shall, at once, vindicate its insulted honor, and crush the insulters.

Another circumstance which had great weight in determining the impracticability of operations two months ago, was the belief that, by about this time, the fort and city of Mooltan would, by means of canals and cuts from the Chenab, be inundated, to such an extent, on all sides, as to render siege operations impossible.

Further enquiries seem to render the above circumstance, at least to the extent described, doubtful.

It is of much importance that you should, with as little delay as possible, in communication with Lieutenant Lake of the Engineers, report upon the local features of the fort and surrounding country, with reference to the feasibility of siege operations against the fort, during the next two months, and also in October. It is believed that very extensive inundations can be produced, by bringing the floods of the Chenab into the low country surrounding Mooltan, but it is stated that, by damming up the head of the one principal canal, the inconvenience may be speedily removed, as the inundation would soon be taken up by evaporation, there being no local rains. The whole line of the Chenab being now in your power, the head of the canal could, of course, easily be shut up by your orders.

I request you will, in communication with Lieutenant Lake, submit a report on the above subject, with as little delay as possible.

You will have abundant occupation for your troops in establishing a close investment of the fort, till more active operations can be undertaken, be they undertaken when they may; and you should, if you have time for the work, make arrangements, forthwith, for the future administration of the Mooltan districts, and the securing of the revenues.

It would, doubtless, aid the investing force much, and in no way alter the character of the proceedings, if you would keep the garrison on the alert, by occasional shelling from a mortar battery. Raja Shere Sing has two large mortars with him; and more mortars and shells can be sent from the Durbar by the Ravee and Chenab, to General Cortlandt, if thought desirable.

It would be expedient, also, if you would state the nature of the country between the Ghat opposite Bahawulpore and Mooltan, and the means that could be made available for conveying heavy guns with their ammunition, from one to the other.

Inclosure 5 in No. 30.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, June 28, 1848.

IT is far from impossible that Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake may get possession of the fort of Mooltan, without any aid from us; but it is more probable that the rebel Moolraj will shut himself up in his fort, and hold out, as long as he can.

In the latter case, it will be highly desirable, in a political point of view, and also in a military, that the means of reducing the fort should be, at once, provided. The excitement which is caused, and the injury which is occasioned to all classes of the community, by the continued existence of rebellion in Mooltan, (confined, though it be, to the fort), are incalculable; and I cannot contemplate, without serious apprehension, the possible consequences of keeping two large undisciplined armies, like Bahawul Khan's and Lieutenant Edwardes', in contact, and in a state of comparative inactivity, for the next three or four months.

The altered position of affairs, and the information we have obtained in the meantime, induce Major Napier (whose professional opinion was, I believe, taken by your Lordship, when the impracticability of operations, two months ago, was determined) to consider it quite feasible to undertake the siege, with every prospect of early success, immediately. The report from Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake, called for in my letter of yesterday, will be received, ere the preparations for a move can be far advanced, if commenced at once.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 31.

The Secretary to the Government of India to J. Newmarch, Esq., Solicitor.

Fort William, June 10, 1848.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st ultimo, and its inclosures, from one Jeebun Sing, who represents himself to be the vakeel of the Maharanee Junda Khore of Lahore.

In reply, I am desired by the Governor-General in Council to intimate to you that the Maharanee is no longer in the Punjab, and that she is now on her way to Benares, where she will be placed under the charge of the Governor-General's Agent, Major G. H. Macgregor, C.B., through whom all letters to her, or from her, will pass, in the first instance.

Inclosure 2 in No. 31.

The Secretary to the Government of India to J. Newmarch, Esq.

Fort William, July 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 17th ultimo, and, in reply, am directed to acquaint you that the Government decline to hold any further communication with you direct, relative to the the Maharanee's affairs. All communications on this subject must be made through the Agent of the Governor-General at Benares.

No. 32.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Secret Committee.

August 8, 1848. (No. 66.)

IN the postscript of our despatch No. 59, of the 10th ultimo,* we informed you that, by a letter just received from Sir F. Currie, it appeared that he had directed a force to be held in readiness to proceed to Mooltan immediately, and that he only waited for the Commander-in-Chief's reply to a communication which he had addressed to his Excellency upon this subject. A copy of that reply, dated the 1st ultimo, was forwarded to us by Lord Gough, with a letter of the same date,† in which his Excellency intimated to us that he did not feel justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of sending a force so small as that proposed by the Resident; that he saw nothing, in the altered position of affairs, which would justify him in taking upon himself the siege of Mooltan, at the present moment; that, on the contrary, the success of Lieutenant Edwardes rendered it less necessary, in his Excellency's opinion, to risk the lives of the European soldiers, at this season.

This communication from Lord Gough reached us, the day after Sir F. Currie's letter. We replied to Sir F. Currie, on the 11th ultimo, by informing him, that having carefully considered the various despatches which had been addressed to us, and having weighed the reasons which had been adduced for the immediate despatch of a force against Mooltan, we entirely concurred with the Commander-in-Chief in adhering to our former determination, and in abstaining from moving British troops upon Mooltan, at this season of the year. We beg to refer you to Mr. Elliot's letter of the 11th of July for our opinion at length.‡

We have since received two important letters from the Resident, dated both on the 10th of July,§ the first incloses despatches from Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake, giving an account of another action fought by Lieutenant Edwardes' force, with General Cortlandt's and the Nawab Bahawul Khan's, against Moolraj, at Suddoosain, close to Mooltan, in which the rebel Dewan and his followers, after a struggle of fanatic desperation, were entirely routed. You will read with much interest Lieutenant Edwardes' very clear account of

* No. 30.

† Inclosure 29 in No. 32.

‡ Inclosures 11 and 12 in No. 32.

§ Inclosures 21 and 24 in No. 32.

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You will detain two of the confidential female attendants of the Maharanee, in charge of Her Highness' property, which may remain at Sheikhoopoor, till arrangements are made for its removal: this property you will keep under seal.

Soobha Dut Subadar, with the company of Poorbeahs, will remain as a guard to the property. The Jemadar of Rohillas, with the Rohilla Sessahees, will attend the Maharanee; and, whatever the Durbar agents and British officers may direct, regarding your accompanying the Maharanee, or remaining at Sheikhoopoor, you will attend to and obey; the remainder of the garrison and guards of the town of Sheikhoopoor will remain as at present. You will admit the British officers, with the cavalry escort, into the fort of Sheikhoopoor, and allow them access to any part thereof; and, for the time they may be at Sheikhoopoor, free ingress and egress in and out of the fort.

Inclosure 3 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 16, 1848.

I AM not in the habit of paying any attention to statements made in the newspapers, which, in fact, I scarcely ever read; but, understanding that it has been, generally, reported that Maharanee Junda Khore was induced to leave Sheikhoopoor, by being told that she was to come to Lahore, I have referred to my letter to your address, dated the 16th ultimo*.

I perceive that I have not stated, explicitly, the terms of my moorasila, to the Maharanee, or of the Durbar purwanna to the custodians of her Highness, dictated by me.

I now send these documents.†

I expressly forbade the deputation, in peremptory terms, from using any deceit to the Maharanee. It was suggested by one of them, when the purwanna was written and read, that it would ensure her Highness coming away quietly, if she was told by them that she was coming to Lahore. I impressed upon them all, in strong terms, that they were to use no deceit; that they were to tell the Maharanee no more than was entered in the purwanna; but that, as she would, probably, think that she was doomed to the same fate as her confidential vakeel, Moonshee Gunga Ram, they might assure her that no injury to her person was intended, and that she would be conveyed to her destination, with all proper respect, and consideration to her rank and position.

I think it by no means improbable that the Sirdars may, unknown to the British officers, have told the Maharanee that she was to come to Lahore; they are all unscrupulous, and untruthful to the last degree. But they, certainly, did not make her believe it, for, as the party left the fort, her Highness sent for Lieutenant Lumsden, and inquired of him whither she was to be escorted. He replied, that he had no authority to inform Her Highness, but that she was under his protection, and he would assure her that she would be subjected to no injury, or indignity. She expressed herself satisfied on the latter point, but said she was anxious to know whither she was to go.

On arriving at Kana-Kuch, the Maharanee again sent for Lieutenant Lumsden: she said, "I know now that you are taking me to the British provinces. This is the road to Ferozepore. I have requested your attendance, to beg that you will inform Sir F. Currie, the Resident, that I am under a deep obligation to him for sending me into the Company's territories. I have long wished to leave the Punjab, where I am surrounded by enemies bent on misrepresenting me, and working my ruin. I am now happy and satisfied."

Lieutenant Lumsden, then, told the Maharanee that after resting at Kana-Kuch till the afternoon, they should pursue their way to Ferozepore; that all arrangements had been made for her journey; that, by morning, before it should get hot, they would arrive at Ferozepore, where she would receive full information and instructions from the Resident, regarding her further progress, and future destination.

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† Inclosures 1 and 2 in No. 32.

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chievous and unbecoming conduct since the action; but it is necessary that I should do so, in order that you may have an opportunity of judging whether his continuance in command is, or is not, likely to prevent any cordial co-operation between our two forces, in the most important part of the service which is now before us.

In my dispatch of the 18th of June, I remember (though I have no copy) saying as little as I could, about the fact that the great body of the Daoodpotras were not engaged in the real struggle of the day, which commenced at 3 p.m. upon the left. I thought it invidious and unnecessary to detract from the merit of the Nawab's troops, neither was I, at that time, fully aware how far the Daoodpotras had retired out of the hot fire which had been directed on them all day; having been fully engaged in keeping my own line in its place. Certainly, I never thought any blame to attach to them, nor do I now, and I was only glad that we had had it in our power to save them from a reverse, which the best and bravest troops must, sometimes, meet with. At night, however, my men complained bitterly that the Nawab's troops had followed in our rear, and appropriated all the guns which we had taken, and left behind us, except the two last, which remained in our possession. I laughed the matter off, and said, it mattered nothing who brought in the guns, or who took them, so that the enemy lost them, and the Maharajah got them. To my surprise, however, I afterwards learnt that Futteh Mahomed Khan had no idea of making the said guns over to the Maharajah, considering them as the lawful spoil of his master.

On the morning of the 19th, therefore, when he called upon me at my tent, I took occasion to mention, incidentally, that all the captured guns had better be made over to General Cortlandt.

I have not addressed the Nawab on the subject, and, indeed, I feel quite sorry that so sincere and excellent a friend of our Government should endanger the good understanding subsisting between him and every British official, by employing, in so high a capacity, an old man, whom extreme age has deprived of what little sense he may ever have possessed; one, too, who notoriously ruined his late master, Meer Roostum, of Khyrpore, by exactly the same course of disingenuous and double dealing with the British authorities. Peer Ibraheem Khan, a man of temper and sense, can find no other epithet for Futteh Mahomed than "Ahumck!" or "Fool!" and says he changes his mind so often that he is obliged to lie to appear consistent! This is not the sort of man to come in contact with straightforward and truth-loving Englishmen; and, for the good of the public service, I would suggest how materially it would tend to infuse good feeling into the united force before Mooltan, if this driveller could be withdrawn under cover of a khillut, and replaced by the Nawab's eldest son, a man of whom all speak well, and wish to serve under.

Inclosure 5 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 22, 1848.

REGARDING the defection of the Churunjeet regiment of cavalry, I have the honor to forward a letter from Captain Abbott, without date, on the same subject.

The example of the 253 traitors has not been followed, hitherto, by the rest of the regiment, or by any of the soldiers of the other corps, and it is not likely now, I think, that it will be.

The deserters remained, for some days, at Leia, but, finding that they were not joined by the others, and that Moolraj had no force in the neighbourhood to support them, they proceeded, on their way to Mooltan.

I heard of the arrival at Mooltan, first, of the Sepoys who deserted before the Churunjeet regiment; they went to Dewan Moolraj, and told him that the whole of the Sikh portion of Sirdar Jhunda Sing's force was at his service and disposal, but that he must send some troops to meet them, and cover their retreat to Mooltan.

The Dewan, after taking counsel with his officers, replied, that he had no

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I did not believe this report, at first, and can scarcely do so now, but it has reached me from so many quarters, that it cannot be doubted that either the Bhace has re-appeared, or else some impostor, who has assumed his name and character, which comes to much the same thing, for it is the name of a Gooroo which constitutes so powerful an appeal to the Sikh soldiers.

One cossid, who has hitherto brought very correct information, startled me, last evening, with intelligence that Sirdar Shumshere Sing and his force had arrived at a place called Mehra, within 20 coss of Mooltan. It is not many days ago since you wrote me word that you had ordered all that force to halt at Cheehawutnee; so that, if the Sirdar is really at Mehra, it is against orders, and can bear but one construction. At such a moment it naturally occurs to me that Bhace Maharaj Sing is the disciple and successor of Bhace Beer Sing, who fell fighting on the side of Uttur Sing, Sindanwalla (Shumshere Sing's uncle) in Heera Sing's time; and I remember, when Bhace Maharaj Sing first began to be troublesome at Umritsur, Sirdar Shumshere Sing's name was freely used, in connexion with his schemes; which we all attributed to the enmity of Raja Tej Sing. This chain of circumstantial suspicions involuntarily links itself on to the report now alluded to; but everything I know, and have seen, of the Sirdar's character is against it, and I should be very sorry to find that I had been deceived in him. The mere existence of the rumor, however, is a useful warning, on no account, and under no aspect of affairs, however favorable, to allow the Sikhs at Cheehawutnee to come an inch nearer to Mooltan; for, as it is no secret that Dewan Moolraj has invited them to join him, the Sikh troops will show considerable forbearance, if they only remain neutral.

I have, before, reported to you Dewan Moolraj's intention to send Mustapha Khan Khagwanee, a second time, as vakeel to my camp. Mustapha Khan arrived, on the night of the 21th, and I received him yesterday. His message happily relieves me of whatever responsibility was involved in my former guarantee of a fair trial, even if it had not been forfeited at Kinseyree, as I consider that it was. The Dewan persists in asserting his innocence, but declines to stand his trial, and modestly offers to come in, at once, if that form is dispensed with. I have refused to give any answer, to prevent misconstruction, or to have anything more to do with the Dewan, further than forwarding to you anything he may please to write. Mustapha Khan, as I expected, declines taking back such a rebuff, and says he is very glad to have had the opportunity of getting away safe. He has, I think, behaved and deserved well, throughout this affair. Of the risk he ran, we may judge by the news of this morning, that Moolraj has denounced the Puthans in a body, and declared it lawful to kill them, wherever found. Sadik Mahomed Khan, who has returned to the south of the Chenab, with the Maharajghur force under Hakim Race, will, probably, fall a victim to this proclamation.

Dewan Moolraj's intentions are, I rather think, to keep his whole force as long out of the fort as he can, for his own security, having lost all confidence in them, though the Sikhs have again renewed their vows on the grunth. For this purpose, he has ordered them to Sooraj Koond, three coss from Mooltan, where a nullah, thirty or forty feet wide, which crosses the road, presents an obstacle impassable without boats, or pukka bridges. A heavy salute just fired proclaims (I expect) the occupation of this point by the rebels. It is an able move, and will embarrass us much; but some resource will, of course, turn up. I do not know that we could desire better than another general action in the plain, especially if the Dewan keeps to his promise of heading the troops himself. Under all circumstances, I have written to tell Lieutenant Lake to lose no time in joining the Nawab's army.

When we arrived here this morning, the fort of Secunderabad, which is about a coss from camp, was occupied by a garrison of Moolraj's, and a sowar of ours had his horse wounded by a shot from the walls, which he, too incautiously, approached. I, immediately, ordered six guns (four of the Nawab's, and two of General Cortlandt's), two companies of regular infantry, as many irregulars, and 300 cavalry, with orders to summon the garrison to surrender, and, if not complied with instantly, to batter in the gate. The demonstration sufficed: the majority of the rebel sepoys absconded by a back door, and the rest surrendered. Much to their surprise, I gave the officers khilluts for their sensible conduct, and a good dinner to the sepoys, returning all their swords. The report of this treatment will shake the resolution, probably, of many soldiers now around Moolraj.

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I was left alone to cope with Moolraj. It is now too late, however, for regrets. All that can be done is to meet the evil boldly, and I have again urged Sheik Emamooddeen to join me with all his Mussulmans, told Jowahir Mull Dutt to come down to Raj Ghat, and block up that approach, summoned General Cortlandt's Poorbeah regiment, and two guns, left behind at Dera Ghazee Khan, and hope to be able to seize Sooraj Koond ourselves to-morrow morning.

I expect Lieutenant Lake will join us to-morrow. His presence with the Daoodpotras will strengthen my hands much, and I may as well mention that the Nawab is sending up more men and military stores, so that, if any of his militia have gone back without leave, their places will be filled up by new comers; and this sort of fluctuation must, I suppose, be expected in an army composed of vassals, and not regularly-paid soldiers.

Inclosure 9 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, June 30, 1848.

SOME parties connected with the late conspiracy to tamper with the troops of the garrison, have been seized within the last few days; and, with them, a quantity of most important correspondence has fallen into our hands, showing the more influential parties concerned in the conspiracy, and tending to throw light on the origin of the circumstances which led to the rebellion in Mooltan.

A report of all the circumstances will be submitted to Government, when the investigations now in hand are closed.

In the meantime, I have to state, that the correspondence, if genuine, and it seems impossible that it should be otherwise, and other evidences prove, beyond a shadow of doubt, the complicity of the Maharanee Junda Khore in the late conspiracy, and in other intrigues and machinations, having for their purpose the destruction of the British force, and the murder of the officers at Mooltan, and Lahore, and on the frontier.

The original letter of the Maharanee, in her own handwriting, we have got, and some important original letters intended for her, which were not delivered, owing to her sudden removal from Sheikhoopoor. There are also copies of the letters addressed to her, to which her letters are, in many instances, replies.

It is of great importance that we should, if possible, get hold of the originals of the last described; the letters addressed to the Maharanee, and which, if not destroyed, will be in her possession. I would beg, therefore, to suggest that, on her arrival at Benares, the greatest care should be taken to secure all her property and papers; that these should be examined, in the presence of the Governor-General's Agent, the Commissioner, and the Magistrate; that the Maharanee should be even subjected to have her person, and those of her confidential slave women, searched by respectable females, appointed for that purpose by the Governor-General's Agent, in communication with the Commissioner, and that all papers found be sealed up, and sent to Lahore.

I beg, further, to report, that I find, on inquiry, that when the Maharanee was removed from the palace to Sheikhoopoor last year, she was allowed to take with her, property in cash, jewels, bullion, shawls, gold, horse and elephant trappings, military accoutrements, &c., belonging to the State, to an immense amount. Of this I had no notion, when I said that she might take her property with her to Benares. I believed that she had taken nothing but what might be considered as belonging to herself personally, to Sheikhoopoor.

Property of the kind described above, to the amount of many lakhs of rupees, besides one lakh and ten thousand rupees Nanukshahee, was left at Sheikhoopoor to follow her. When I discovered the nature of this property, and when the Durbar mentioned to me that it all belonged to the State, and not to herself, I had it conveyed to Lahore, and it is now being inspected, in presence of one of the assistants. I intend to send to Benares any that may be fairly considered as the personal property of the Maharanee, but the rest I shall place in the hands of the officers of the Maharajah.

The most valuable part of the property taken to Sheikhoopoor is stated, however, to be now with the Maharanee. A large elephant, heavily laden, in

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one more engagement in the plain, before he betook himself to the walls of his fort; and, as the soldiers refused to fight, unless he headed them himself, it, at first sight, appeared a highly favorable opportunity of deciding the rebellion. The most suspicious reports, also, were in circulation as to the disposition of the Sikh force under Raja Shere Sing, which, according to orders, should have been at Toolumba, but was said to have arrived within a few coss of Mooltan. Bhaee Maharaj Sing (it was added) had been deputed to go out, meet, and bring them in. Letters came in, in the course of the day, from the Raja and other Sirdars commanding that force, and I sent the soldiers who brought them to eat a good dinner with General Cortlandt's Sikh orderlies, knowing that the result would be a disclosure of the real state of the Raja's camp. I am sorry to say that the account, thus obtained, fully justified, though it did not confirm, all the details of the report we had heard. Artillery regiments and Jagheerdaree horse were alike declared to be in favor of Moolraj, the very remarkable feeling among the Sikh being this: As a nation we are found out; the cloak is withdrawn from our designs; things have been prematurely hurried on; and concealment is no longer possible: as soon as the Mooltan affair is settled, the Sikh army will certainly be reduced as unsafe, and we shall all be thrown out of employ. Let us, therefore, prevent this rebellion from being settled. If Moolraj makes satisfactory arrangements with us, and will go all lengths for the religion, we will assist him; if he does not, we will not assist in reducing him. We will fire over the heads of his soldiers. If the Sirdars oppose us, we will tie their hands behind them, and send them to Moolraj.—Very similar reports reached us of the Sikh portion of Sheik Emamooddeen's force; and it became apparent that the unhappy re-appearance of the Sikh Gooroo at Mooltan had revived the spirits of all the disaffected, who had not been actually involved in the defeat at Kineyree. While, therefore, Moolraj's own troops were depressed, and unwilling to fight again, recruits were coming in, with fresh courage, from the Manjha; and overtures from every Sirkaree army, except ours, now converging against Mooltan. The question then arose: could we, by forcing the broad nullah in front of us, and advancing on Mooltan by the eastward, strike another, and decisive, blow at the rebels, before things grow worse, and they are reinforced by desertion from Shere Sing's army and the Sheik's?

Lieutenant Lake, (who joined us yesterday, having ridden in from Bahawulpore, in expectation of a battle), General Cortlandt, and some of my Puthan officers, were of opinion that we should secure an immediate engagement by crossing the nullah; but the majority argued that, if Moolraj was anxious for a fight, he would not have destroyed the only bridge at which we could cross; that, until reinforced by very large desertions, he was so numerically inferior as to be unable to run so great a risk; that all his anxiety was to prevent our crossing the nullah; that if we effected the passage, he would immediately retreat into Mooltan, and we should be committed as it were to take up our stand on the worst side of Mooltan, where there is no ground suitable for a camp, and no grass for the cavalry. These arguments seemed to me good, and were coincided in, also, by both Lieutenant Lake and General Cortlandt, so that we finally resolved not to attempt to cross the nullah; but make for Abid Khanke-Bagh, directly west of the city of Mooltan, and there take up a permanent position, which should command Raj Ghat, and all our relations with the Sind Sagur Doab, and territories Trans Indus.

Sheik Emamooddeen's force had arrived within twelve coss of us, and was too weak to be left any longer alone; so we halted, yesterday, to allow them to come up; and they reached Bahawulpore, about four coss to the south of us, that same morning. Unfortunately, their line of march had brought them to Moolraj's side of the nullah, instead of ours; and it was necessary to take immediate steps to extricate them from their dangerous proximity to the rebels; five coss from Mooltan; with nothing between them and the enemy, and a wide nullah cutting them off from their friends. I sent a strong party, immediately, to raise the villagers, and construct a bridge for the Sheik's passage; but about 5 P.M. our spies reported that Moolraj's troops were moving down the east side of the nullah towards Bahawulpore. Great was our anxiety, and I thought it necessary to send two regiments under General Cortlandt, to the Sheik's assistance. The night came on, stormy and dark; the detachment lost their way, and wandered about the jungle till day-light, when they found that the bridge had been completed in sufficient time to allow the Sheik's troops to cross over

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mooted ; but there are many points in undertaking military operations, on which an engineer officer's opinion cannot be considered definitive.

The force now proposed by Major Napier, and apparently assented to by you, I consider quite inadequate. I never could consent to an insufficient force, such as one brigade, of any strength, being sent.

I have always understood from you, that both the Sikh army and Sikh population are disaffected, and should be guarded against. I take it that these objections to weakening our force at Lahore, and on the frontier, still exist. The movement of a siege train under those contingencies, with so insufficient an escort as a brigade, would, in my mind, be a most impolitic measure.

The supposition, from recent enquiries, that the neighbourhood of Mooltan is not so inundated as you supposed, would make the undertaking of a siege less difficult. That it could be attacked from the town side, as proposed by Major Napier, was always self evident, as the town itself could not be supposed to be under water ; but it must be remembered, that this would conduce to two operations—the taking of the town itself as a preparatory one—always inadvisable when it can be avoided, as, in such attacks, discipline is rendered almost nugatory.

A siege train must be accompanied by a proportionate force of reserve artillery; four companies would be the least that would be required for the train of thirty pieces proposed by Major Napier; one of these companies would have to move from Subathoo.

By the Deputy Commissary-General's letter which I forwarded to you some time back, the transport train bullocks would have to come from Cawnpore. I am not aware what the Durbar could collect. Elephants, without harness, and unaccustomed to draught, would be of little use, except as an aid in helping guns out of difficulties.

I always understood that the carts at Bahawulpore, and I take it on the other side of Sutlej also, are not calculated for the carriage of the siege materiel.

With regard to Commissariat supplies, I only know that, whatever force moves at present, we shall have to look to the Durbar for everything for them.

If the services of Major Napier are disposable for the duty, he might proceed with the force as Chief Engineer.

Inclosure 13 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, July 5, 1848.

I FORWARD two letters from Lieutenant Edwardes, dated, respectively, the 26th and 27th ultimo, received together on the 3rd instant.

The reports referred to by Lieutenant Edwardes, were mostly without foundation.

The Sikh troops are doubtless not to be relied on; but the only descrtions, not hitherto reported, that have taken place, that I have heard of, are of a party of nearly 400, from Sheik Emamooddeen's newly raised levies.

I doubt not I shall have to report a further collision between the troops of Lieutenant Edwardes and Bahawul Khan, with those of Dewan Moolraj, and I trust with a similar result.

Inclosure 14 in No. 32. ♀

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Tibbee, 2 coss south-west of Mooltan, July 2, 1848.

MY hasty note of yesterday evening will have gratified you with the intelligence of the battle of Suddoosain ; the second general action, and second victory, which this force has fought, and gained, within a fortnight. I now proceed to give you the details.

Sheik Emamooddeen's division having joined us on the 30th of June, we

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hors-de-combat very early in the day, and the Daoodpotras were unable, until very late, to extricate their artillery again from the banks of the canal which they first occupied, so that, during the greater part of the day, the artillery on both sides was equal.

At last, Dewan Moolraj, who commanded in person, and who is said to have got a fall from his elephant by a shot catching the howdah, mounted his horse, and retreated precipitately from the field, carrying with him all the guns but two, which remained to mask the movement, and were most desperately served. The Sooraj Mookhee regiment of infantry finally decided the day, by a most brilliant charge against these two guns, which they captured in a style which British troops alone could excel. They were led on by Mr. Quin, my writer, a young man, but old soldier, whose conspicuous bravery deserves special notice. A rush of the whole infantry and cavalry followed, and the broken enemy fled from the hard-fought field in irrecoverable disorder.

Almost under the walls of Mooltan, I halted our fatigued troops; and, the failing daylight not permitting us to ascertain whether we were under the fire of the fort or not, I thought it best to return to our own camp.

The highest estimate of the rebel numbers does not make them above 12,000; and I scarcely think they were 11,000; though they left hardly any men in the fort, and have been reinforced by large desertions, during the last three days, from the forces of Sheik Emamooddeen and Raja Shere Sing; but the majority of Moolraj's troops are old soldiers, many deserters who fight with halters round their necks, and two-thirds Sikh and Hindoo fanatics, to whom it has become a war of faith to uphold the Khalsa and their Kutree master. The desperation, therefore, with which they fought, more than counterbalanced the difference of numbers; and I attribute our victory, entirely, to each division of our line being led and sustained by European officers. Lieutenant Lake will himself give you an account of the share taken in the battle by the Daoodpotras; but it is for me to inform you how much their good service was due to the judgment with which he took up their successive positions, and the confidence which they could not but imbibe from witnessing his personal intrepidity under the hottest fire. To him, and General Cortlandt, your warmest praise is due. The latter maintained a solid and unshaken centre throughout the day; and handled his regular regiments and artillery, like a good soldier and brave man. Sheik Emamooddeen's troops were hardly engaged at all, though his return shows a list of eighty-one killed and wounded. Several of the Puthan Chiefs made dashing charges against Moolraj's cavalry, whenever they showed themselves; amongst them I could distinguish Gholam Sirwur Khan Khagwance who killed several Sikhs with his own hand, and was shot through both bones of his right arm, in the midst of the enemy's line. To Foujdar Khan Alizye, who has, throughout these operations, acted as my Adjutant-General, and who, in spite of a severe sword wound received at Kineyree on the 18th of June, took command of the cavalry, yesterday, at Suddoosain, and directed their movements, I feel under the greatest obligation, and, at some future time, shall lay his services more particularly before you.

We lost some few Puthans of note; Futteh Khan of Khyssore, Hussun Khan, Moosehzye, and Ruheem Khan, Khoodukka, a relation of the Nawab of Dera, all brave men, who will be remembered on this frontier with regret.

In Lieutenant Lake's force, Captain McPherson of His Highness the Nawab of Bahawulpore's service, fell, at the head of his regiment; and we buried him this morning with military honors.

The total of killed and wounded in the whole force, is 281.

The enemy are said to have suffered very heavy loss, increased by a cruel and treacherous act of the Dewan's. Between the field and the city runs the same large nullah on which we were encamped at Sooraj Koond; and there is but one bridge at that part of it which is nearest Suddoosain. No sooner had Moolraj got across this bridge himself with his artillery, than he planted two guns on it to stop his own soldiers from retreating. The majority of the enraged fugitives forced the barrier with some loss; but many of them tried to swim the nullah, and were drowned. Hundreds never re-entered Mooltan, but struck off into the country, and have gone, probably, to their homes. Of 400 Goorkas (who deserted our officers), only 150 answered to their names again at Mooltan. Moolraj's courage, however, seems to remain unbroken. This morning, he mustered his soldiers, invited them to go out with him again to fight, and

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Inclosure 16 in No. 32.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Tibbee, 2 coss from the city of Mooltan,
July 3, 1848.*

DEWAN MOOLRAJ'S army were in no condition this morning to avail themselves of the "Mahoorut" fixed by the Brahmins and the stars, both of which authorities have fallen into disrepute since the battle at Suddoosain. I have not even heard the great Gooroo's name mentioned during the last two days, and conclude he is going over his calculations again, to see where he made the mistake.

The Dewan has slept in the fort the last two nights for security; and passed the days in a shivallah in the city. His troops have been collecting the dead carrion off the field, and dragging up the drowned from the nullah under the city walls. All have been burnt; and, the Adjutant of the traitor Goorka regiment having been killed, his wife performed the rite of Suttee on his funeral pile.

For the present, at least, it is clear that the rebels have resigned all pretensions to the plain, and are limiting their operations to the defence of the city and fort. At the bridge over the nullah they have planted six guns, and lined the nullah bank nearest the city with zumboorahs. Between the city and the said bridge, also, they have erected a battery on a natural eminence, called Ali Mahomed Khan Badozye Reejah, from the house of that Puthan chief being situated thereon, and knocked down to make way for the guns. In the fort they are casting more guns, and, of course, these preparations will continue, as long as ever the advance of the British siege train is delayed.

I trust that it will not be thought presumptuous on my part to moot again the settled question of immediate action, or delay till the cold weather; but the enemy is now reduced to so humble a position; is so hemmed in, disheartened by defeats, and weakened by desertions, since the last battle, that we all here feel it would be matter for great regret, if you should not bring to bear on the rebellion, at once, the very little extra impulse which is required to end it.

Such is the state of feeling now in the rebel army, that I am quite confident the announcement of a British brigade and heavy train leaving Lahore or Ferozepore for Mooltan, would be the signal for so great a desertion, as would leave the fort in a hopeless state of indefensibility. Even the Sikhs have been shaken by this last thrashing, and large numbers of them threw their arms into the nullah, and, divesting themselves of every appearance of soldiers, returned again to the Manjha. To lose so favorable an opportunity of avoiding a siege, by a simple demonstration, would be courting difficulties; and the conduct of the Sikh troops during the delay, which has already taken place, and whose danger has been merely counteracted by our successes at Kineyree and Suddoosain, warn us, in an unmistakeable language, to take "fortune at the flood," and not give another two months to the Khalsa, wherein to forget Moolraj's disasters, and take up the broken threads of their wide-spread web of mutiny.

It is generally said that many deserters from Raja Shere Sing's force fought against us at Suddoosain; but fled again after the battle, astonished at finding that their hero, "Moalla," was but a Bunyah after all, and not an incarnation. Now then is the time to strike; and it is quite painful to me to see that I have reached the end of my tether, and can do no more. Here we are, upwards of 18,000 men, completely thrown away, eating up the revenues of the country, which might be employed to purposes of peace; at a time too, when the State is bankrupt. I have hard work, I assure you, to feed and pay this army, and, in every point of view, think it would be well to bring their occupation to a speedy end, by vigorously following up the advantages they have gained. Heavy guns and mortars, sappers and miners, two European and two Native regiments, a young brigadier, and a smart engineer staff, supported by three good Native regiments and a General Cortlandt, and my irregular hordes to scour the country round, would close Moolraj's account within a fortnight, and obviate the necessity of assembling 50,000 men in October.

Now that we are at Mooltan, the inclemency of the season is no longer an argument against sending Europeans, for I will undertake to dry the nullah, and put them under cover, in the city of Mooltan, within forty-eight hours after their

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Inclosure 17 in No. 32.

Lieutenant Lake to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Tibbee, 2 coss from Mooltan, July 6, 1848.

I AM glad to learn that you consider it desirable to move, at once, with British troops against the fort of Mooltan.

The battle of Suddoosain will, doubtless, confirm you in those views, for it has reduced the rebel Moolraj to so abject a condition, and made his followers so dispirited, that no combination of circumstances would render him less formidable than he is now. His cause is now wholly despaired of; large numbers of his adherents are daily deserting him; even the so-called Bhaee Maharaj Sing has thought it prudent to decamp; and the news of a British force being on its way to Mooltan will be enough to disperse those who are still wavering. Those who fight with halts round their necks, will, of course, cling to him to the last.

Not only the state of Moolraj's force, but that of our own, makes it incumbent upon us to act immediately. The main strength of this army (as you are, perhaps, aware) is the regular regiments. Hitherto, they have shown no symptoms of dissatisfaction; but, as Moolraj spares no efforts to corrupt them (and they will shortly be joined by Raja Shere Sing's force, whose fidelity is questionable), it would be in the highest degree imprudent to leave them inactive for the next three months, in the immediate vicinity of Mooltan. As for the irregular Puthan levies, their fidelity is to be depended upon, so long as Lieutenant Edwardes is present to guide them; at the same time, it must not be forgotten, that they are mere mercenary troops; that the personal attachment they feel for Lieutenant Edwardes, and the success which has hitherto attended their efforts, are the only links which bind them to our cause. The Bahawulpore troops are, as you know, inexperienced, and badly paid, and, although there is no fear of the Daoodpotras going over to the enemy, there is every probability of their returning to their homes, if the contest is a very protracted one.

It is hardly necessary for me to dwell upon the evils of inactivity, the courage and confidence which it cannot fail to give the enemy, the distrust it must inspire among our own men, the great anarchy and disorder which must prevail in the districts of Mooltan until the capture of the fort, besides the great expense of keeping so large an army in the field.

All these are arguments, not only for sending a British force to Mooltan, but such a force as will bring the matter to a speedy conclusion. Nine thousand men will take more time to move than three thousand, but the time lost by the former, in arriving at the point of action, will be more than saved, after they have once begun operations.

Neither do I see any reason why siege operations should be impeded, as, from all I can learn, inundations are confined to the north side of the fort, and the west side of the city. On the east and south, the ground is comparatively high, and is in no way affected by the water in the surrounding canals and drains. Of four gates which the fort contains, the Khidree is the only one which will be inaccessible from water. In front of three other gates, and on the city side, is some very high ground, which is not only above the reach of inundation, but on a level with the fort itself. There is no reason why the attack should not be made from this quarter.

It must not be forgotten that these inundations are produced by the river, and not by the rains, and that there is every probability of the river containing more water in October than July. If, therefore, the extent of this inundation is to prevent us acting in July, it will equally prevent us in October.

The ground on which the fort is built is said to contain 300 biggahs of land; within this area there is not only an outer but an inner inclosure; the space within, for the location and movement of troops, must, therefore, be contracted; under these circumstances the advantage of bringing a number of mortars is evident.

I regret that I am unable to furnish you with a more detailed account of the fort, as the distance which we still are from Mooltan, makes me dependent upon others for information.

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Inclosure 21 in No. 32.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.**Lahore, July 10, 1848.*

IT is with much gratification that I forward the correspondence relative to another complete victory*, obtained by the combined forces of Lieutenant Edwardes and Nawab Bahawul Khan, on the afternoon of the 1st instant, over the troops of the rebel Dewan Moolraj.

His Lordship in Council will, I am sure, admire the gallantry, skill, energy, and judgment of Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake, displayed on this occasion, and will consider those officers, and the troops under their command, as deserving his approbation and commendation.

Inclosure 22 in No. 32.

*The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.**Lahore, July 10, 1848.*

IT falls to the lot of few men to have the opportunity of rendering such brilliant and useful service to their country as you have been enabled to perform; and the gallantry, energy, skill, and self-devotion with which you have gloriously improved the opportunity afforded you, must command the admiration, while the great value of the services effected, will call forth the grateful thanks, of the Governor-General of India in Council, as they do, in an eminent degree, my own.

You have, indeed, performed most eminent and valuable service which his Lordship in Council will, I am sure, appreciate as I do, and will greet with the same hearty acknowledgment.

This second victory is a very important one: it will, I doubt not, have the effect of disheartening the followers and the partisans, open and secret, of the rebel Moolraj; and of enabling you to confine him and his remaining army to the city and fort, till a British force shall put a period to the rebellion by crushing him in his stronghold.

I shall address your gallant companion, Lieutenant Lake, separately, in reply to his letter reporting the victory, and the conduct, of the troops of our ally, the Nawab of Bahawulpore.

General Cortlandt has again distinguished himself; his skill in managing his troops, and his intrepidity in action, are in the highest degree creditable to him, and entitle him to the warmest thanks of the Maharajah and myself.

Your account of Mr. Quin's gallant conduct is highly satisfactory, and I shall take care that the excellent service which he has so heroically rendered to the Government, on this occasion, does not pass unnoticed, or unrewarded.

To Gholam Sirwur Khan, Khagwanee, whose personal prowess you speak of in terms of praise, my admiration and thanks are due; as also to Foujdar Khan, Alizye, who, though still suffering from the wound he received in the action at Kineyree, while gallantly charging the enemy's cavalry, was again at your side at Suddoosain, commanding your cavalry, and rendering you excellent service.

I request that to the above officers especially, and to all the officers and soldiers who fought with you on this occasion, you will communicate the assurance of my approbation and grateful thanks.

The Durbar have, at my instigation, addressed a purwanna to the officers and men of General Cortlandt's regiment; and have, in a proclamation to the troops of their army, spoken of the conduct and services of these corps in terms which will, I trust, be gratifying to them; while it is to be hoped that their conduct, with its reward, may have the effect of stimulating the other Durbar troops to the exhibition of similar fidelity to the Government.

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contemplated plan of the conspirators was baffled; the existence of that part of the conspiracy which attached to the tampering with our soldiers was detected, and some of the ringleaders thereof executed. This confounded the disaffected still further; and the sudden removal of the Maharance, the great head and promoter of all the treacherous combinations, came as a sort of climax to their perplexities: all these events tended to frustrate their scheme, and account for the delay in its development.

Still Moolraj remained unpunished, and the rebellion in Mooltan unchecked; there was yet a rallying point for the army and the disaffected, and, at this moment, Bhace Maharaj Sing made his appearance.

The career of this impostor, whom the Sikh army declared was the promised Gooroo who was to restore their supremacy, was watched, with much interest and anxiety, by the army, and by the disaffected of all ranks. His rapid rise to importance was remarkable, and, had he succeeded in making his way to Mooltan, with the large retinue of horse and foot whom he had collected—joined by those who it is ascertained were preparing to join him, the difficulties of the rebellion would have been exceedingly enhanced, and the Sikh army would, in all probability, have been, at this time, at Mooltan; at any rate, that part of it that had escaped from Mahomedan vengeance on the frontier. The conduct of the Churunjeet regiment, and some others of Sirdar Jhunda Sing's force, was a fair index of the state of feeling at this juncture.

The career of this Gooroo was happily terminated, in the manner reported* to Government, and his followers were either destroyed, seized, or dispersed.

This was another great blow to the interests of the disaffected and designing, particularly as, by the persons seized, and the investigations occasioned, the extent of the conspiracy, and the parties implicated, were in a great measure revealed.

But the rebellion still existed in Mooltan, and the conduct of the force under Shere Sing—insignificant in itself, with reference to the materials of which it is composed—was more than ever the object of attention. There was yet a hope that they might fraternize with the rebels in Mooltan, when the army now deeply committed, and aware that its general disposition was known, would have made that its opportunity for revolt.

The troops under Shere Sing, under circumstances the result of anxious arrangements, have arrived at Mooltan, disposed at this moment to do deeds of fidelity to the Maharajah and the British Government.

But the feverish excitement in the Sikh army is unallayed, its disaffection is in no way cured, and it is as disposed to mischief as ever, while its fears of a reckoning, should it commit itself no further, are weakened.

The rebellion in Mooltan being put down with a strong hand, tranquillity would be restored, and the coward obedience of the Sikh army insured.

The suppression of the rebellion has been gradually progressing, and, by the gallant conduct, and excellent arrangements and energy of Lieutenant Edwardes, it has been brought to its present state of repression, earlier than I expected, or, indeed, intended.

But we have "scotched the snake, not killed it;" it may revive again, and I have shown how eagerly and dangerously its revival is longed for by the army. I think the other portions of the community have, on account of the continued failure and discovery of their schemes, now very much withdrawn from the cause of treachery and revolt, though they also would return to it, if a good opportunity arose.

Nothing would so probably cause the revival of the rebellion as a check at the present moment in the progress of its destruction, and the slightest reverse in the operations for that purpose. No one is more aware of that fact than Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake, in the midst of their exciting successes. What might not be the result of three months' inaction, and the exposure of our men to the intrigues and machinations of Moolraj, during that time? and how could we calculate on our present troops being satisfied to sit quiet, watching the fort, but unable to proceed against it for so very long?

We have, as I said before, not killed the snake, though it is grievously hurt; if we can, at this moment, put our heel on its head and crush it for ever, it is surely our wisdom to do so, for, if it revive again, I have shown its sting may be deadly; and the position of our gallant officers and their troops, who have ren-

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Inclosure 25 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to Major-General Whish, C.B.

Lahore, July 10, 1848.

I REQUEST that you will take immediate measures for the dispatch of a siege train with its establishment, and a competent escort and force, for the reduction of the Fort of Mooltan.

It is of importance that no delay take place in the dispatch of this expedition.

If siege operations are undertaken against the fortress of Mooltan now, there will be no opposition, except from the garrison of the fort itself; the surrounding country is in our occupation, and its resources at our disposal; while the fort itself is, to a certain extent, invested by the united forces of the Nawab of Bahawulpore and that under Lieutenant Edwardes, amounting in the aggregate to about 18,000 men of all arms.

The fidelity of this force may be entirely depended upon, and its aid and services in all the operations of the siege will be available.

Associated now with Lieutenant Edwardes and Bahawul Khan's forces is a corps of Durbar troops, consisting of one regiment of regular infantry, one troop of horse artillery, four guns of another troop, and about 2,000 or 2,500 Jagheer-daree horse.

This corps is under Raja Shere Sing, and the principal Sirdars of the country, and may be relied on to do no mischief in its present position. The Sirdars are faithful, and the troops might be annihilated in a couple of hours, if they committed themselves by any treacherous proceedings.

The remainder of the Sikh army is on the distant frontiers, with the exception of two weak regiments, one at Govindghur, and the other on its way to Lahore, to take the palace guards.

I consider that the following force will be quite ample for the duty required; and, with reference to the season of the year, it is not desirable that more European troops should be employed than may be necessary to insure the entire success of the operations undertaken.

From Ferozepore:—The second class siege train, with three companies of sappers and pioneers (the head-quarters to join immediately from Loodiana), and two reserve companies of artillery; two regiments of native infantry, one troop horse artillery (native), one regiment of regular cavalry, and one regiment of irregular cavalry. From Lahore:—one British regiment, one regiment of native infantry, one troop of horse artillery (native), one regiment of irregular cavalry, and one reserve company of artillery.

At Ferozepore, boats have been collecting for some days, in expectation of the necessity for this move, and choppers have been made for several of them. There will be no difficulty about sending, by water, to the Ghat opposite Bahawulpore, such part of the force as it may be deemed expedient to forward by that route.

Sufficient boats for the siege train and four companies of artillery are reported by Captain Browne to be now ready.

At Lahore, boats are being prepared, and a sufficiency, for the European regiment, of comfortable boats, with choppers, will, I trust, be ready in a few days.

Other carriage has also been collected. A memorandum of that now ready, exclusive of the public cattle under the Commissariat officers, is annexed.

I should propose that from Ferozepore—

The siege train and reserve companies of artillery go by water.

Also one of the regiments of native infantry, if boats are ready in time.

The cavalry brigade, with one regiment of native infantry and the sappers and pioneers, should go by land, down the right bank of the Sutlej, to join the train at the Ghat opposite Bahawulpore.

The bullocks, elephants, camels, and carts, for the siege train, may go by land from Lahore and Ferozepore, to meet the train at the Ghat.

From Lahore, the European regiment may go in boats down the Ravee and Chenab; the rest of the brigade marching. The road lies by the river bank the

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Inclosure 27 in No. 32.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

July 11, 1848.

THE Governor-General in Council, having carefully considered the various dispatches which have been addressed to him, and having weighed the reasons which have been adduced for the immediate dispatch of a force against Mooltan, entirely concurs with the Commander-in-Chief in adhering to the former determination of the Government, and in abstaining from moving British troops upon Mooltan, at this season of the year.

The Governor-General in Council can perceive no change of circumstances which either calls for, or would justify, a change of the course originally recommended by the Commander-in-Chief, acquiesced in by yourself, and approved by the Government.

His Lordship in Council perceives that the existence of inundations round Mooltan, to such an extent as would render siege operations impracticable, is now considered to be a matter of doubt.

His Lordship in Council, however, does not find any satisfactory evidence that such inundations do not prevail, for he observes that, on the day previous to your letter to the Commander-in-Chief, you addressed to Lieutenant Edwardes directions to ascertain the real state of the case, on which no accurate information appears to have been at that time obtained.

But, even if the statement regarding the extent of the inundations should prove to be incorrect, the Governor-General in Council observes, that the resolution which was adopted of postponing the movement of British troops, was mainly founded on a consideration of the advanced season of the year, and of the intense heat of the districts in which the army would act, leading infallibly to a fearful loss of life among the British troops employed.

The Governor-General in Council does not see cause to believe that these considerations were without foundation, or that the risk of health and life among the troops was, in any degree, exaggerated.

The reasons, then, which chiefly induced the Government to abstain from bringing an army into the field, until after the cessation of the rains, exist in all their original force, while the dangers, then contemplated as likely to arise from delay, have been, in a great degree, removed, by the measures which you have directed to be taken, and by the success which has attended the gallant exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes and his force, aided by our ally the Nawab of Bahawulpore.

Under these circumstances, the Governor-General in Council concurs in the opinion pronounced by the Commander-in-Chief, on the military question submitted to him, and does not consider it expedient, or wise, to depart from the previous determination of the Government upon that question, maturely considered, and deliberately formed. The force which may now be required, in the event of the Dewan continuing to hold out in Mooltan will, probably, be very much less than any that has hitherto been contemplated. It will be ready to take the field as soon as the season opens.

The troops, under the command of Lieutenant Edwardes and the Nawab of Bahawulpore, may be, advantageously and fully, employed in carrying into effect the purposes for which you originally designed them, namely, in occupying the districts of the province of Mooltan, in securing their revenue, and in preventing the spread of disaffection beyond the neighbourhood of Mooltan itself.

Inclosure 28 in No. 32.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Adjutant-General.

Fort William, July 11, 1848.

IT is indispensable, in the present state of public affairs, that preparations involving large expenditure should not be engaged in, until the last moment to which they can, properly and safely, be deferred. The aspect of affairs in the

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the cathedral aisle. But nothing comes of it. Another time, he talks of cutting the canal, but is restrained from doing so, by fear of destroying the fort ditch. One day he fortifies the city, another day he fortifies the fort. To-day he tells all his soldiers to leave him, because he has got no money to pay them; and to-morrow keeps up their spirits by assuring them that when iron shot fail, he will fire silver on the besiegers. His army, I think, rather increases than decreases;* many have been deserting, but new recruits from the Manjha are once more beginning to come in by tens and twelves. I estimate his number at 6,500; he may possibly have 7,000.

All the Mooltanee Affghans but two have deserted him.

As you seem to wish the Khans of Tank to be sent to Sirdarpore, I have ordered them there; they are at this moment near Maharajghur, and will cross over from Rungpore to Sirdarpore, as soon as they can get boats. I quite agree with you in thinking this move a good one, now that we have troops coming down the Ravee. You seem to be under the impression that Maharajghur, Ahmedpore, and Rungpore are in a state of rebellion, whereas their chief zemindars throughout these troubles, have been fighting like Britons on our side; and only a few days ago took their leave from my camp, where they had come to receive my thanks. Under these circumstances, there is no occasion whatever to make those districts over to Misr Sahib Dyal. I have appointed my own kardars, and sent my own thannahs, so please tell the Misr not to trouble himself with the district in question, but keep to his own side of the Chenab, like a good man.

Let me know when the troops actually start from Ferozepore, that I may send off all the carriage I can muster, to the Ghat opposite Bahawulpore. We shall be able to render very extensive assistance in this way.

The Nawab of Bahawulpore has at last recalled his incapable General, but he leaves his office vacant.

After all, I had not the heart to take away the whole ten guns from the Bahawulpore troops, and left them five, which, to this day, they have not repaired, so as to be efficient. Cortlandt has made a very efficient troop of our five.

You say "You see I am not of the reconnoitering parties:" I shall deem myself lucky, if I join any reconnoitering party, at the end of three weeks or a month. At present, I am in my bed, and likely to stop there, my hand propped up upon pillows, and kept in the same position for twelve hours at a time; in fact, I am quite disabled.

Inclosure 31 in No. 32.

*The Secretary to the Government of India to Major G. H. Macgregor, C.B.,
Agent to the Governor-General at Benares.*

Fort William, July 14, 1848.

I AM directed to instruct you to make a correct inventory of all the property belonging to the Maharanee Junda Khore, on her arrival at Benares, and place it in safe custody.

You will have the goodness to send an inventory to the Resident at Lahore, in order that the State may make good the claims it has preferred.

The Governor-General in Council requests that all the Maharanee's papers may be seized, but, until further conviction, his Lordship in Council does not wish that her confinement should be made more rigid: you will, of course, effectually provide for her safe custody.

Inclosure 32 in No. 32.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, July 14, 1848.

I FEAR that Lieutenant Edwardes is suffering severely from the accident, when his pistol went off, and the ball passed through his hand.

* Moolraj had 12,000 men before Kineyree. That battle, and Suddoosain, reduced his army one-half. What I mean to say is, that it is now again rather looking-up.

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much pleased with his intelligence, and expressed wish and intention to watch over the interests of the people.

Murwut is also perfectly quiet, and 50,000 rupces of the Rubbee revenue of that extensive district have already been paid up on account. From Esakhail 19,000 have been realized; and, in all three districts, the collection is proceeding without difficulty.

I fear that the appointment of Mullick Futtch Khan is not very popular with the officers of the army, at any rate of the Sikh portion. They are not quite in the humour to welcome a Mahomedan commander. Futtch Khan seems confident of his powers of managing them, and he, probably, knows well what he undertakes. I have no fear of anything in the shape of difficulty occurring, as long as the royal cause prospers at Mooltan, and there is a prospect of the rebels being quickly reduced, but I have heard that there are again doubts of the probable march of a British force to put the finishing blow to the rebellion, and, as every man in the country is expecting it, the news of its having been again deferred will have a very bad effect, and probably lead to more intriguing and speculation. Already, and in the face of complete success, are absurd rumours afloat of Raja Shere Sing having fled from his troops, of Lieutenant Edwardes having been taken prisoner; and others, putting Moolraj in the light of an amiable and interesting martyr, begging those that wish it to leave him, and paying their expenses to their homes, and giving them compensation for their burnt houses, &c.

The great danger is, the now too great propinquity of the forces under Raja Shere Sing and Jowahir Mull Dutt, who may at any time join the rebels, or from whose ranks theirs may be reinforced by desertion. For, though I believe that a large proportion of the Sikhs would be well pleased to see the matter completely settled in favor of Government, still the very nature of the late successes (gained by Poorbcahs and Mussulmans) cannot but be distasteful to them, and add to the feeling expressed in a sentence uttered by one of the parties concerned, in the mosque disturbance here; the spirit of which may be rendered thus: "Friend Mussulman has got very high of late;" and, therefore, rebellion, as long as it exists in any form, will attract the sympathies of many, and obtain much secret, if not open, support. This being my opinion, it appears to me that a great deal of risk is run, by associating the forces under Raja Shere Sing and the others, with that of Lieutenant Edwardes, and expecting them to blockade the rebels for the next two months; and, should accident or intention bring on a general action, the loyal troops would be always liable to encounter defection or treachery in their allies, at the moment of direst need.

I had written part of this letter, when the joyful intelligence reached me, that a British brigade was to be sent at once to secure the advantages already obtained, and give the finishing blow to the rebellion, by reducing the fort. I consider that the presence, with Lieutenant Edwardes's force, of 1,000 Europeans, would render the matter safe; and while he is strong, the main body of the Sikh army will remain faithful.

I may mention, that Colonel John Holmes, whom I have in all difficulties found a most active and intelligent assistant, and whom I believe to be heart and soul in our interests, has two or three times expressed, with an earnestness that I did not choose to remark, his hope that British troops would be sent to put an end to the rebellion.

It may appear unnecessary for me now to express these opinions, as the move I advocate has been already resolved on; but it appears to me that you have decided on it on your own responsibility. And if you are inclined to allow any weight to my view of the case, on account of my having been for some time associated with the officers and men of the Sikh army, you may not be sorry to see how deeply necessary, even at this advanced and favorable position of affairs, I consider the operation in question to be; and, as I am now proceeding to a post of comparative safety, I write more freely, and perhaps feel more deeply my anxieties for the safety of my brother officers and brave allies, who have, by their successes, given such a favorable turn to the tide of affairs.

The inclemency of the season is, undoubtedly, a difficulty; but the heat, though great, is far from intolerable. I am myself, at this moment, writing in a hill-tent, and do not find the heat very oppressive.

The officers rode out part of the way with me; and I parted in kindness and good-will from all my late assistants. The Bunnoo Mullicks have also

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the Governor-General in Council desires me to inform you that, if you should, in consequence of the receipt of my despatch* of the 11th instant, have countermanded the march of the troops, you should, immediately, direct the advance you have ordered, and proceed with vigor to carry out, at all hazards, the policy which you have now resolved upon.

A letter will be addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting that every exertion may be made to ensure the efficiency of this force.

Inclosure 37 in No. 32.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

July 29, 1848.

YOU will convey to Lieutenant Edwardes and to Lieutenant Lake the highest approbation of the Governor-General in Council of their conduct in the action†, and the strong sense the Government entertain of the gallantry, energy, determination, and skill, which these officers have displayed.

No. 33.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

Fort William, August 18, 1848. (No. 70.)

THE Resident's letter‡, dated 31st ultimo, contains an extract from a confidential communication to the Governor-General, announcing that a general combination has, for many months past, been plotting the subversion of our power in the Punjab, and to the westward of Delhi. When the Resident has submitted the proofs and documents on which this assertion rests, the question will, of course, engage our serious attention.

Inclosure 1 in No. 33.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Resident at Lahore

Simla, July 11, 1848.

THE troops having been ordered to move upon your responsibility, I have only to assure you that every facility and aid in my power shall be freely given, so as to carry out to a successful result the operations against Mooltan.

Lieutenant Lake's letter§ of the 6th instant confirms the views I had previously formed, as to the amount of force which it would be judicious to send, and that it would be ill judged to trust a smaller force amongst such an heterogeneous set of men as that now before Mooltan, which, if not supported, would, it is stated, probably disperse, and thereby place the British officers now with them in great peril. Indeed, I hope that the force I have named is sufficiently strong; but as it can always be supported, and is capable of setting at defiance any combination that can arise, before such support can reach it, I am not disposed to recommend any changes in the arrangements that have now been made.

Inclosure 2 in No. 33.

The Resident to the Commander-in-Chief at Lahore.

Lahore, July 24, 1848.

I HAVE no doubt that the force which your Lordship has assigned for the reduction of Mooltan, will be found, in all respects, sufficient for the duty which will be required of it; and that if the rebel, Dewan Moolraj, awaits the coming

* Inclosure 27 in No. 32.

† Inclosure 6 in No. 33.

‡ Inclosure 14 in No. 32.

§ Inclosure 17 in No. 32.

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When the British army arrives before Mooltan, it will be too late; the hour of grace will have passed away.

The inhabitants of the city, and those who possess property therein, are warned that if, on account of armed opposition, it becomes necessary to take forcible possession of the city by storm, it will be impossible to save their lives, or those of their families, or protect their property. The city will, of necessity, it is to be feared, be involved in bloodshed, plunder, and ruin.

On the arrival of the British army before Mooltan, if the city has been peaceably surrendered, the fort only will be attacked. If the fort be not unconditionally surrendered, with those therein, to the British power, it will be besieged, and, on being captured by storm, the garrison will be put to the sword.

This proclamation is issued, now, with a view to save unnecessary bloodshed, and that all concerned may be fully informed of what will assuredly take place, and that they may act accordingly.

Inclosure 5 in No. 33.

Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.

Esakhail, July 26, 1848.

HAVING received satisfactory accounts from Bunnoo, both from Mullick Futteh Khan and Colonel Holmes, of the suppression of the mutiny, I propose embarking, on the 28th, for Dera Ismael Khan.

I have ever carefully avoided treating the present rebellion as "Khalsa Cause" in conversation, yet it appears to me proper to put before the officers and men the great extent to which the misconduct of a portion of the Sikh soldiery has endangered the integrity of the State, and the certainty of its final ruin, if other instances of mutinous conduct and treachery occur, calculated to endanger the tranquillity of the country, and the lives of British officers employed in it. In treating this subject, I have in no way charged the Khalsa soldiery with a rebellious spirit as a body, but have tried to engage the interests and honor of those who love peace, and really wish well to their government, in opposition to the factious members of the army, who would gladly see all order and government subverted, merely in the hope that they may again reap such harvests as they have before done, by being the only source of safety and power, in the midst of anarchy and confusion.

The programme of the plot was much in the old Sikh style, from all I can hear—the officers were to have been killed, the guns seized, and the army, or body of mutineers, to have marched to Mooltan.

The Esakhailees seem happy and contented, but they labor under several peculiar and rather oppressive imposts, which furnish constant cause of (with them) very humbly expressed complaints.

I have animadverted, rather severely, on the want of vigilance in the officers of the Akul regiments, but I do not wish any further notice to be taken of it; they are, I think, both loyal men.

Inclosure 6 in No. 33.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, July 31, 1848.

VIEWING the affairs of the Punjab from the distance at which your Lordship is placed from the theatre of events, and judging only from the imperfect details which my dispatches bring before you, it is impossible for you to know the very uncertain state in which things have been for the last three months, and still are; the circumstances which arise almost daily, and threaten a crisis; and the unceasing watchfulness and anxious management which have been necessary, on my part, to prevent a general revolt and insurrection.

The Mooltan rebellion in itself, apart from the extensive schemes and combinations now connected with it, is quite unimportant; but, in connection with these, its continuance, or otherwise, becomes a matter to the last degree momentous.

I do not yet know all that was intended, or the extent to which hopes are still entertained of success to the scheme for expelling us from this part of

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But I have, through the assistance of Lieutenant Edwardes, brought things to that pass that I can put down the rebellion, by moving a British force, and such an one as is at disposal, on Mooltan.

Moreover, I can move the force down, without greater danger to the health of the Europeans than if they were in their cantonments ; or, at any rate, very little greater ; while the native portion of the force can march exactly as if they were in their provinces, sending their tents ahead, and only marching at night.

The season of the year, also, is much less unfavorable than it was. There are no local rains in Mooltan ; it is beyond the limits of the Monsoon, but so far within its influence, that the urgency of the heat is allayed, and the air is softened by rains over the neighbouring countries, and the inundations from the streams which flow through it. It is curious that the only two officers on this side of India who have resided in Mooltan and its vicinity, Major Mackeson, and Captain Cunningham, both wrote, in May last, recommending operations in July and August, rather than during the prevalence of the hot winds of May and June.

Very comfortable choppered boats, in abundance, have been supplied for the European regiments. Officers and men are delighted with the arrangements, and no inconvenience from exposure, or otherwise, is anticipated ; while the accounts from the land columns are most satisfactory ; all are in high spirits at the trip, the only dissatisfied parties being those that are left behind ; while, from the number of applications for permission to go with the force, merely as amateurs, (several of which have been granted by the general), one would think that the expedition was looked upon as one of pleasure, rather than to be accompanied by danger and distress.

No. 34.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

September 7, 1848. (No. 73.)

WE transmit the correspondence with the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares, regarding the safe arrival of the Maharanee of Lahore at Benares.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

Major Macgregor to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Benares, August 2, 1848.

THE Maharanee Junda of Lahore arrived at Benares this morning.

I have received charge of Her Highness from Ensign Coxe, 70th regiment, Native Infantry.

The greatest care has been taken by Mr. Reade, the Commissioner of the Benares division, Mr. D. F. McLeod, the magistrate here, and myself, assisted by Ensign Coxe, to secure all her Highness' property and papers ; and several pattarahs, containing jewels of great value, have been seized, a complete inventory of which is being carefully made in the presence of Mr. Reade, Mr. McLeod, and myself, a copy of which shall be forwarded to you, with as little delay as possible.

The Maharanee's confidential slave-women were subjected, on their arrival here, to a strict search by two very respectable European matrons, viz., Mrs. Alone and Mrs. Stanley, whose assistance was kindly obtained for the purpose by Mr. Reade, the Commissioner. No papers, and nothing indeed of any value, have been found on the persons of the slave-women. I have promised to give Mrs. Alone and Mrs. Stanley a suitable present on the part of Government, for performing a duty which may be considered of a somewhat invidious nature.

One of the necklaces, claimed by the Lahore State, mentioned in the list * forwarded in Sir F. Currie's letter to your address of the 30th of June last, has been found among the Maharanee's jewels ; the remainder, no doubt, will be forthcoming on further examination.

The Resident at Lahore shall be furnished with a copy of the inventory of the Maharanee's jewels and property, as soon as it has been completed.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 34.

Jeebun Sing to the Maharanee.

I LATELY had the honor to forward to your Highness an account of my proceedings in your Highness' service, since I was distinguished by receiving your commands to represent to the Governor-General of India in Council, the grievances under which you suffer. This account was transmitted to you, through the British Resident at Lahore, and I hope that you received and read it; but no reply thereto has been sent to me. I was, consequently, led to anticipate some disturbances at Lahore, and was very sorry to hear, afterwards, that the accusation of your being instrumental to the revolution at Mooltan, was brought against your Highness, and that you were on your way to Benares, and had already arrived at Ferozepore.

With the advice of my legal adviser, Mr. Newmarch, a gentleman on whose good judgment and integrity I can place complete reliance, and of the Bengallee Baboo, who kept me for six years in his house, and taught me a little of English, and enabled me to acquire a full insight into the manners and laws of that nation, when I first came to Bengal, I petitioned the Governor-General in Council for information as to what would be the place for your Highness' future residence. His Lordship, in reply, informed me, that Benares has been selected for your Highness' abode; and that he referred me to Major Macgregor, the Governor-General's agent at that place, as the proper channel for communicating with, and receiving orders from, your Highness; and it was also stated that the Governor-General in Council would hold no further communication with me directly, but through the Agent, who will correspond with his Lordship. A similar answer was given to my first representation, and I was, then also, referred to the Resident at Lahore. Mr. Newmarch expresses himself confident that you will finally succeed in obtaining redress. He observes, that the documents printed, and laid before the British Parliament, disclose an intention of attempting to seek an opportunity of depriving your Highness of power, long before any charges were brought against you, and while you were on terms of the closest alliance with the British authorities. He is confident that, when this is brought prominently forward, it will materially strengthen your Highness' cause, and that, as you will be able to establish, on the clearest evidence, that you have always been innocent, and strictly observed the terms of the Treaty, you have every chance of being ultimately released, and freed from your present rigorous confinement, and of going back to your own country. Mr. Newmarch and myself are anxious to obtain a personal interview with your Highness at Benares, (only five days journey from hence, by dak,) in order that we may confer with you, freely and fully, on your affairs, for which I beg you will previously obtain the Agent's permission; or, if it should seem preferable to your Highness, you will be pleased to send us an account, minutely detailing every occurrence which has been made the pretext for treating you so unjustly. In my letter to the Agent, giving cover to this, I have also not omitted to solicit his permission to be allowed personally to present our respects to your Highness. I beg to add my humble assertions of devotion to your cause, and to entreat my Royal Mistress not to allow confinement and exile to damp her courage, and induce the acquiescence of despair. God is merciful, and the clouds of your misfortune must be dispersed. Patience is necessary in the time of distress, as considerable delay must be apprehended, as the proceedings of English law are always dilatory. I hope, however, that, in the course of five or six months, you may obtain redress. If the local Government is unfavourable to you, justice may be obtained by an appeal to England. I have been told by Mr. Newmarch, that a proclamation was made at Lahore, that, if any letter containing any intrigues be detected, addressed by your Highness to any person of your country, the rigor of your treatment will be much more increased; but, as you never were, nor are, inclined to have recourse to such unworthy means, I am not at all uneasy at it. Mr. Newmarch further says, that, as his business requires his presence at Calcutta, and my presence there also is absolutely necessary, for the purpose of considering the best means of expediting your commands, it may be deemed expedient by your Highness to engage an intelligent and trustworthy man, either English, or Bengallee, to execute your orders at Benares, and to wait on the Agent on your behalf; and it would depend entirely on your Highness' pleasure to entertain either an European, or a clever Bengallee Baboo. An adequate salary for the former is 400 rupees, and of the latter -

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rently by the Maharanee herself, are the only documents which seem to me to contain anything that you would wish to see; indeed, some of those herewith sent are apparently drafts of letters that were submitted by the Maharanee to the British authorities at Lahore when Her Highness was there; none of the said documents, however, bears any address; some of them are couched in terms that are ambiguous to me, but will, probably, be more intelligible to yourself and the Durbar Chiefs.

The remainder of the Maharanee's papers now with me, consists of letters addressed to Her Highness by the Residents at Lahore; also, bills, receipts, and such like; these shall also be transmitted to you, on your making known to me your desire to that effect.

The Maharanee was evidently quite taken by surprise on her arrival here, on its being intimated to her that we had seized all her pattarahs containing her jewels, papers, and other property; and not being prepared for the search we instituted, I think we should have got possession of the documents you allude to in your letter to Mr. Elliot, had they not already been made away with, or destroyed by her Highness.

I shall feel obliged by your returning me any of the papers herewith sent, on your requiring them no longer.

No. 35.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

Fort William, September 7, 1848. (No. 74.)

WE have received intelligence of the arrival of the right and left columns before Mooltan, and of their being encamped about two and a half miles east of the fortress; but the siege train had not yet reached that place, and it was expected that operations could not be commenced before the beginning of this month.

It is gratifying to observe that the troops have been remarkably healthy, and in both columns there have been fewer casualties than in the head-quarter wing of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons, on its short march from Ferozepore to Lahore.

The only incident of any note which occurred on the line of march, was an attack upon the right column, on the morning of the 16th ultimo. Fortunately, in consequence of General Whish having been kept on the alert, by hearing the report of cannon in the direction of Mooltan, he had ordered his camp to be struck, and the troops to be ready to turn out, at the shortest notice. "At 2 p.m., the cavalry picket," says the General, "reported a large body of horse and foot being in its front, and it was, as well as the other pickets, soon engaged with them. The line was formed immediately, and I ordered the flank companies of regiments to support the pickets, which they did with great alacrity and decision. The enemy were disappointed in finding us so prepared for them, and retired at 3 a.m., after sustaining a severe loss of about forty killed, many more wounded, and a few taken prisoners, who agreed in reporting that their force, which was 1,500 infantry and 350 horse, left Moolraj's camp at 7 p.m. on the 16th, the main part of which staid at a village in the rear; that, finding the few hundred sent on in advance had been so roughly handled, and so soon deserted by the cavalry, all commenced their retreat, a great part throwing away their arms to facilitate it.

We now turn to a new scene of disaffection and tumult. On the 12th of August, the Resident reported that a serious collision had taken place at Hazara, between the armed Mahomedan population and the Sikh troops in that province, and gave it as his opinion, that this collision has been occasioned by the measures which have been adopted by Captain Abbott, in consequence of the belief with which he is impressed, that Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Attareewalla, the Nazim of the province, is at the head of a conspiracy for the expulsion of the English from the Punjab, and was about to head a crusade against the British forces at Lahore. We are not, however, prepared, by the information yet before us, to decide that Captain Abbott has acted on this occasion with too great precipitancy,

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health, and successfully accomplished; but not without the show of some resistance, his escort being so reduced as to amount to only thirty men, on his arrival at Attock. Lieutenant Nicholson has since been engaged in raising a small body of troops for his own protection, and in endeavouring to persuade the disaffected to return to the path of duty. In all his measures taken for this purpose, he has evinced considerable judgment, promptitude, and firmness.

Captain Abbott's conduct, since the commencement of the outbreak, has been marked by much vigor and determination. His letters of previous dates had certainly shown him sensitively alive to the dangers of the outbreak, with a nervous anxiety as to the result.

He now appears fully equal to the occasion that has arisen, and to be entitled to some credit for forethought and discrimination, unless the Resident's opinion be found true, that Captain Abbott's suspicions were the cause, rather than the effect, of the hostile attitude assumed by Raja Chuttur Sing. The Resident, at the same time, pays a high compliment to Captain Abbott's character, in saying, "that he has many excellent qualifications as a public officer,—indefatigable application to business, a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest justice in all his investigations, decisions, and proceedings, and a kind and eminently conciliatory manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazara, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact almost worshipped, by the people; all persons that I have conversed with, who have come from those parts, are unanimous in their estimation of him. They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharajah Golab Sing was glad to get from under his government on almost any terms. This is the people that has now risen at his bidding, and it is to be hoped that he may have influence and power to allay the storm which he has raised of his own authority, and without communicating his purpose to any one."

Immediately on learning the outbreak, the Resident deputed his chief assistant, Mr. Cocks, to proceed to the spot, to make inquiries as to the extent of the Sirdar's culpability, and to adjust the differences amicably, if possible. We are glad that he, subsequently, altered his determination with respect to Mr. Cocks. Sirdar Jhunda Sing was sent, together with a confidential agent, from Sirdar Golab Sing, son of Chuttur Sing, in order to bring matters to a favorable issue, to prevent the shedding of blood, and to induce Sirdar Chuttur Sing to surrender himself, for the purpose of having his whole conduct investigated at Lahore.

Major Lawrence entertains no doubt that Sirdar Chuttur Sing is at the bottom of the movement. Captain Nicholson considers that Sirdar Chuttur Sing's proceedings arose as much from suspicion, as any other feeling, and states, that it was the intention of the Hazara force to effect a junction with the Pukli brigade, and march upon Lahore. He is urgent for the immediate dispatch of a British brigade in that direction; but it is satisfactory to observe, that Captain Abbott is confident in his own means of resisting any attack, and of even annihilating the force in Pukli, if he were authorized to take the initiative.

The Resident, it will be observed, is most unwilling to believe in the guilt of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and attributes the untoward event solely to the alarm generated in his mind, by Captain Abbott's withdrawal of confidence. But it appears to us, as at present informed, that Captain Abbott had ample reason to withdraw his confidence; and great colour is lent to his suspicions, by the conduct of Chuttur Sing since the outbreak,—by his movements and measures, avowedly hostile; by his intercepting of communication; by his tone of defiance to Major Lawrence and Captain Nicholson; by his refusal to surrender Comedian Canora's murderers; by his treasonable correspondence with other brigades; and by his dispatch of emissaries to neighbouring Potentates. The Resident himself* says, in his letter of the 16th of August, to the address of Captain Abbott:—
"The Nazim's complaints of your want of confidence in him, of your having set him aside in the Government, till he had become a mere cypher, of your suspicion and misconstruction of his conduct on all occasions, during the past two or three months, and of his feelings of distress and humiliation on the subject, to have

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celebrated sometime within the next twelve months, the Sirdar would wish to be allowed to lay aside the duties of his Hazara Government, and proceed on pilgrimage for two years; if, on the contrary, the marriage is to take place this year, the Sirdar would suggest that, with your sanction, the Durbar should appoint astrologers on the part of the Maharajah to fix an auspicious month and day, in conjunction with other astrologers on the part of the bride; for the Raja says that, after the day has been fixed, it will take nearly a year to prepare the costly presents which Sirdar Chuttur Sing will have to give on the occasion.

The above is the substance of the Raja's conversation, and he earnestly requested me to procure him an answer from you within ten days. The request seems strange at the present moment, but the Raja particularly explained that his father would not have mentioned the matter, had he not looked upon the Mooltan rebellion as a thing disposed of. The secret motives of men are difficult to divine, but there can be no question that an opinion has gone very prevalently abroad, and been carefully disseminated by the evil disposed, that the British meditate declaring the Punjab forfeited by the recent troubles and misconduct of the troops; and, whether the Attareewalla family have any doubts, or not, upon this point themselves, it would, I think, be a wise and timely measure to give such public assurance of British good faith, and intention to adhere to the Treaty, as would be involved in authoritative preparations for providing the young Maharajah with a Queen. It would no doubt settle men's minds greatly.

Inclosure 2 in No. 35.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Tibbee, 2 coss from Mooltan, August 1, 1848.

A PUTHAN Chief, named Nassur Khan, Populzye, has been holding the country at Dera Ghazee Khan, during General Cortlandt's absence; and blockading the fort of Hurrund. As you are aware, the disaffected Futteh Pultun, which formerly sold my head for 12,000 rupees, was, purposely, left behind with Nassur Khan, to get rid of so many secret enemies out of our own camp, and to give the regiment an opportunity of redeeming its character, if so inclined, by performing good service before the fort.

Hitherto, I have heard no complaints of the conduct of the regiment; Nassur Khan has always reported them as engaged in blockading the fort, and obeying his orders. A fortnight or three weeks ago, Sirdar Shumshere Sing informed me that Dewan Moolraj expected to be joined by the Futteh Pultun; but, as the daily reports from the regiment received by General Cortlandt were satisfactory, I thought no more of the matter.

This morning, General Cortlandt received information from Nassur Khan, that he had detected the Futteh Pultun in correspondence with the rebel garrison of Hurrund; and when he took the intercepted letter to the colonel of the regiment, and that officer called up all his subordinates to investigate the matter, the soldiers broke out into open mutiny. Nassur Khan retired to his own camp, and the Colonel and Commandant, separating themselves from the men, accompanied him. The mutineers proceeded to beat to arms, and Nassur Khan followed their example; rallying around him his own cavalry, and several contingents of the neighbouring Mussulman tribes. Seeing Nassur Khan prepared, the Sikhs did not come to a collision; but Nassur Khan concludes his letter by saying that it was their intention, he believed, to join the rebel garrison; if they attempted which, he intended to muster all the Mussulmans he could, and fall upon them.

In reply, I have instructed General Cortlandt to order Nassur Khan to raise the Mahomedan tribes without delay, and, on the slightest attempt on the part of the Futteh Pultun to join the rebels, to put every man of them to the sword. To induce the Beloochees to give this assistance to Nassur Khan, I have written to tell them that, should Nassur Khan find it necessary to call upon them to destroy the regiment, all the plunder that they take in the Futteh Pultun camp, whether crown property or private, shall be theirs.

It is not impossible that matters may have come to a crisis between the two parties before this; in which case, I feel confident that Nassur Khan will have

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ment may consider it right to pursue now, or at any future time, in respect to the administration of the Punjab, and it is, on that account, that I see no objection to the marriage being celebrated, at such time, and in such manner, as may be most satisfactory to the parties themselves, and the Durbar.

Inclosure 5 in No. 35.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Tibbee, 2 coss from Mooltan, August 4, 1848.

IN continuation of my letter of the 1st of August, I have the honor to inform you that, the night after the meeting of the Futteh Pultun, six companies of the regiment struck their tents, and commenced their march to the fort of Hurrund, intending to join the rebel garrison. On hearing this, Nassur Khan, with his own sowars, and as many Beloochees as he could collect, made for the fort by a shorter road, and drew up his little band across the line of march of the Futteh Pultun. This gallant manœuvre met with the success which it deserved; for the mutineers, seeing that they were intercepted, and would not be able to execute their purpose without a struggle, marched back again to their former camp, whence they sent vakeels to Nassur Khan to beg forgiveness; attributing their misconduct to the regiment being greatly in arrears of pay. Nassur Khan, however, assigns a much more probable cause, namely, that a soldier of the regiment had been to Mooltan to make a bargain with Dewan Moolraj, and had just returned with an order from the Dewan to the rebel Kardar of Hurrund, to give the regiment a present of two months' pay, and gold bracelets to the officers, if they joined the garrison.

The Colonel and some few others sided with Nassur Khan throughout, and, strange to say, the other two companies of the regiment, which were on duty in trenches close to the fort, came away, and joined Nassur Khan and their Colonel, instead of joining the mutineers. What is still more curious, these two companies were commanded by Bughail Sing, Commandant, notoriously the greatest intriguer in the regiment. Their good conduct is, perhaps, accounted for by the fact, that the garrison immediately sallied out, and broke up the intrenchments which the two companies had left.

The whole regiment, subsequently, begged Nassur Khan to intercede for their pardon, and went through the fanciful Sikh ceremony of swearing fidelity on the grunth. The whole affair is eminently characteristic of the treacherous, avaricious, and intriguing Sikh soldier; another proof, added to the many afforded by the Mooltan rebellion, of the imperative necessity of remodelling the Khalsa Army, if we wish for security in the Punjab. Lieutenant Lumsden is, I believe, engaged in revising the internal economy of that army, but, paramount to this, is the necessity of totally altering its constitution, which is rotten to the core. This, however, is a subject for after consideration.

I have instructed General Cortlandt, for the present, to send the arrears of pay of the Futteh Pultun (which have only just reached this camp from Lahore) to the Kardar of Dera Ghazee Khan, and write to the Futteh Pultun that the same will be given to them, whenever they make over the ringleaders to Nassur Khan. Nassur Khan has also been warned to place not a moment's trust in the regiment, and be prepared to destroy it, on the first symptoms of another outbreak.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out, that the almost simultaneous émeutes in the districts of Dera Ghazee Khan and Bunnoo, respectively suppressed by Futteh Khan, Towanna, and Nassur Khan, Populzye, together with the increasing desertions from Raja Shere Sing's camp, even at this hopeless moment of the rebels, prove that the suspicions entertained by Captain Abbott in Hazara are not without foundation; though I disagree with that officer, both as to the secret movers of the plots, and the extent of the danger to be apprehended from them.

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Sirdar Shumshere Sing confessed to Lieutenant Edwardes themselves (they would in all probability have been first put to death).

The union of Shere Sing's force with the rebels, would have been the signal for the whole Sikh army following their example. The move which, with its disastrous consequences, we have all along been trying to prevent, would have taken place. The united Sikh army would have been altogether too strong for Bahawal Khan's troops and Lieutenant Edwardes' levies, and we must, then, have either taken the field, at once, with a large army (such as we have not at command), or have seen our ally, and our gallant officer, destroyed, without moving to help them.

It may, perhaps, be urged, that it was in that case not judicious to bring Bahawal Khan into the field at all; but it is to be remembered that, had I not put this force across the Sutlej when I did, Moolraj's troops would have beaten Lieutenant Edwardes in the Derajat, where he was threatening him with a far superior force, and that Lieutenant Edwardes' defeat would have been instantly followed by the rising of the whole Sikh army, with all its consequences.

Occurrences have arisen, almost weekly, during the last three months, which have called for immediate measures to meet them; such as appeared to me necessary, I have not hesitated to adopt, on my own responsibility. Hitherto, the rising of the Sikh army generally has been prevented, without moving British troops; but the course of events has now made it absolutely necessary to move them, in order at once to avert the evil, which can no longer be averted in any other way, and to rescue our ally, and our new levies, from a position of imminent peril.

At the same time, these events have been so controlled, that the movement of a sufficient body of British troops has been rendered practicable and easy, without endangering, to any extent, their health, and with every prospect of success.

I trust that the Governor-General in Council will pardon my thus repeating my opinion as to the necessity and expediency of the measure I have adopted.

Inclosure 7 in No. 35.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, (without date).

I HAVE the honor to report the execution, this morning, of the Fakeer Wazeer Sing Sing, Moolraj's emissary.

A company, Mahomedans, of Meer Junglee's regiment, with a strong body of the police, kept the ground; but there was no demonstration of sympathy made on behalf of the culprit, and I have not heard that it has caused any sensation among the troops.

In consequence of a letter just received by Lieutenant Nicholson and Colonel Ruttun Sing, from Colonel Boodh Sing Khan, reporting an émeute of the troops in Hazara, and the murder of Commedan Canora of the Artillery, both Lieutenant Nicholson and I are of opinion that his presence just now is desirable at Attock or Hussan Abdal, to counteract any evil designs that Sirdar Chuttur Sing, who would seem to be at the bottom of the move, may have in that quarter.

Lieutenant Nicholson will, therefore, start to-night, with an escort of sixty Jagheerdaree Peshawur horse and 150 Puthans of my new levies. His health is still, I regret to say, very delicate; but we consider the urgency of the case to admit of no delay; as, should the fort of Attock fall into hostile hands, the effect would be most prejudicial to us.

My Governor is very sanguine as to the troops remaining staunch.

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we intend to send him to you in irons, to receive whatever sentence you think fit; we have recorded no sentence on the proceedings, in order that the Raja's Sikhs generally may believe he is going to be hanged. Rebellion has sung very small among them since Shoojan Sing's capture, and, in a few days, the arrival of the British force will give it a lock-jaw altogether. With respect to your recommendation to keep the Raja's force out of the operations against Mooltan, you must own that this is both a delicate, and a difficult, matter, and would be a poor return for the exertions which I believe the Sirdars to have made to save the credit of the Khalsa, if I were to take advantage of our hour of strength to dishonor them before the whole world. My idea is to assign them a place the same as other divisions, putting them merely in such a position that if they behave well, so much the better, and if they hang back, it will not matter. They would never take an active part against us, after the arrival of the British troops when they had been neutral before. I send you the last ukhbar, and you will be highly amused to see that Moolraj has ordered a gun to be prepared as big as the Chungec gun at the Delhi gate. By the bye, I think our big guns will be a long while in coming up; and the left column altogether is very much behind time.

P. S.—Since I wrote this, a most important seizure has been made, of a large bundle of correspondence between Moolraj and Shoojan Sing, found concealed in the dunghill behind his horse's heels. The Sirdars will bring me the papers to-morrow morning.

Inclosure 10 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Captain Abbott.

Lahore, August 11, 1848.

THE Hazara dak has come in, but there is no bag from Shirwan, nor is there any communication from Sirdar Chuttur Sing, either to myself, or to the Durbar.

Intelligence has, however, reached Lahore from other sources, of the occurrences which took place at Hurripore, on the evening of the 6th instant, and of the death of Colonel Canora.

It appears, from all I can learn, that what has occurred has taken place, mainly, in consequence of mutual distrust and suspicion of each other's proceedings between Sirdar Chuttur Sing and yourself.

It is much to be regretted that you have had, as it appears, no personal communication with the Nazim, on the subject of the state of the troops in Pukli and Hazara, as represented to you by your informers, and that you have withheld to mention the fact of your having raised the Mahomedan population, and the purpose thereof.

Sirdar Jhunda Sing was about to start for Hazara. I have now deputed Mr. A. H. Cocks, the chief assistant to the Resident, to Hazara, to inquire into, and report on, all the circumstances of the affair, and with full authority to pass such orders, and make such arrangements, in regard to it, and to the administration of Hazara, as he may consider necessary.

You will pay the same deference to any instructions you may receive from Mr. Cocks, as you would to orders from myself, and you will give him every assistance in performing the duty which has been imposed upon him.

Orders have been sent to the Nazim, and to the military officers in Hazara, and the neighbourhood, to obey all instructions they may receive from Mr. Cocks, and to stand fast in their present cantonments till his arrival.

I request you will take no step, not actually necessary for the preservation of the district, or of the people, or the army, until Mr. Cocks shall reach you.

It appears from the representations of Colonel Boodh Sing, Colonel Noorood-deen, and Baboo Pandee Ramdial, and also of Sirdar Mehtab Sing, Majeetia, that they have all refused to move their troops at the bidding of the Sirdar, without your concurrence and orders.

They have been all told that they have done quite right. I trust you will have kept back the peasantry from any acts of violence, and that the Pukli brigade will have remained in its cantonments, and that no collision will have taken place.

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Inclosure 13 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, August 12, 1848.

I AM afraid from the report I have received, that a serious collision has taken place in Hazara between the armed Mahomedan population and the Sikh troops in that province, and that this collision has been occasioned by the measures which have been adopted by Captain Abbott, in consequence of the belief with which he is impressed, that Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Attareewalla, the Nazim of the province, is at the head of a conspiracy for the expulsion of the English from the Punjab, and was about to head a crusade against the British forces at Lahore.

That the Pukli brigade has been, for some time, in a state of excitement, I have no doubt; and that they have indulged, as is the habit of the Khalsa, in mutinous and treasonable boastings about their purposes, is highly probable; and it is by no means improbable that some of them, especially Colonel Bahdoor Sing's regiment, may have intended, if an opportunity offered, to go off to Mooltan; and other regiments may have purposed joining in the expedition; but that Sirdar Chuttur Sing, an old and infirm man, the father-in-law of the Maharajah, and with more at stake than any man almost in the Punjab, should have taken the leading part in an affair of the kind described by Captain Abbott, is altogether incredible.

I have, constantly, cautioned Captain Abbott about receiving as true the rumours which are brought to him, and pointed out the absolute necessity of his testing the accuracy of the information he receives; and, while I have told him that, in the event of an actual treasonable movement on the part of any regiment or brigade, he would be justified in preventing, by every means in his power, the accomplishment by such corps of its treasonable purpose, I have warned him of the necessity of only acting when the émeute had actually taken place, and that with great caution, as the calling up of an armed population in aid of the civil power is a momentous business; and I have pointed out to him how much easier it is to raise, than to allay, a power thus brought into action, and impelled by religious antipathies and feelings of long cherished hatred.

Living, as we do, in such an atmosphere of treachery, perfidy, falsehood, and deceit, in the Punjab, it is certainly not easy to determine what is, and what is not, worthy of credit; but it has been for some time to me evident that Captain Abbott was being practised upon by parties, for what purpose I know not, who were exaggerating existing dangers, and fixing the authorship of treacherous proceedings on persons unconnected therewith.

The constant suspicion with which Captain Abbott regarded Sirdar Chuttur Sing, seems to have, not unnaturally, estranged that chief from him, and induced the Sirdar to withdraw from that free and confidential communication, without which it is impossible for persons holding the positions they do respectively, to conduct their business.

This state of feeling seems to have been taken advantage of, by persons interested in widening the breach between the two; till Captain Abbott looks upon Sirdar Chuttur Sing as a sort of incarnation of treason, and the Sirdar has been led to believe that Captain Abbott is bent upon the annihilation of himself, and the Khalsa army in Hazara, on the first opportunity.

The raising of the armed Mahomedan population of Hazara by Captain Abbott, for the purpose of preventing the Pukli brigade from moving from its cantonments to march either on Mooltan or Lahore, caused great alarm to Sirdar Chuttur Sing and the Sikh troops of Hazara. It is reported that the mountaineers assembled in large numbers, and surrounded the town of Hurripore, in the strong fort of which, Hurkishengurh, Sirdar Chuttur Sing resides; while Captain Abbott has, since May last, been at Shirwan in the hills, about thirty-five miles off. There is, as it is described, an open space of some 200 or 300 yards between the walls of the town of Hurripore and the fort; and the Sirdar directed the detachments of Durbar troops, stationed in the town for its protection, to bring their guns, and to encamp in the open space above described, under the protection of the guns from the fort.

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In consequence of Lieutenant Nicholson having proceeded to the neighbourhood of the disturbance on the night of the 8th, I have delayed Mr. Cocks' departure till to-morrow, hoping to hear from Lieutenant Nicholson, or to receive further intelligence in that interim.

Inclosure 14 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Major Lawrence.

Lahore, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, without date.

I approve of your having carried into execution the sentence passed on the emissary of the rebel Dewan Moolraj, and am glad that the conduct of the troops on the occasion was so satisfactory.

I entirely approve of your having sent Lieutenant Nicholson to Attock and Hussan Abdal, on hearing from Colonel Boodh Sing Man of the untoward occurrences in Hazara.

I have every hope of your being able to keep the troops in Peshawur in a due state of subordination. As far as has yet appeared, this outbreak has been occasioned by designing parties practising upon Captain Abbott, and abusing his mind as to the real state of the troops generally, and as to the conduct and intentions of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Attareewalla, the Nazim of Peshawur.*

Inclosure 15 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Captain Nicholson.

Lahore, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE just received a letter from Major Lawrence, dated Peshawur, the 8th instant, from which I learn that, upon hearing from Colonel Boodh Sing Man of the disturbance in Hazara, you have come to Attock, or Hussan Abdal, for the purpose of assuring the troops, and keeping all quiet in your former jurisdiction.

I entirely approve of what you have done, and, if the disturbance has been occasioned, as it would appear from the only documents that have yet reached Lahore, by the armed peasantry of Hazara being raised by Captain Abbott, in consequence of exaggerated statements made to him of the misconduct of the Sikh troops in Pukli, and under the mistaken notion of Sirdar Chuttur Sing's treasonable practices and purposes, I am in great hopes that, by your presence and judicious management, further outrage may be prevented, and peace restored.

I have strongly recommended Sirdar Chuttur Sing, if he desires to prove his loyalty, and the road is open, immediately to go to you. I inclose a Khurreeta to the Sirdar, for you, after being read, to forward to him. There is also inclosed a letter from his son, Sirdar Golab Sing, to the Sirdar, to the same effect.

I also forward the copy of a letter yesterday addressed by me to Captain Abbott, with whom you will put yourself in communication, and with whom you will co-operate to allay, as far as possible, the present disturbance, and to soften all conflicting feelings which may have been occasioned.

I have only the Sirdar's account of the death of the Commedan Canora. If the Commedan was satisfied (and it should appear that he was right in his supposition) that Sirdar Chuttur Sing's purpose was treasonable in collecting the guns outside the city of Hurripore, he was justified in refusing obedience to the Nazim's orders; and the Sirdar will, in that case, have to render a strict account of his conduct. If, on the contrary, the measure ordered by the Sirdar was merely a precautionary one to protect the force, and to prevent the guns from falling into the hands of the armed Mahomedans, who were about to attack the

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On my arrival here, learning that the 100 Goorchurras of Sirdar Mehtab Sing, Majeetia, here had abused, and expelled from camp, their Commedan, for refusing to join the Hazara force, I paraded the party, and dismissed and confined the ringleader on the spot. The remainder begged forgiveness, and, having some reason to believe them sincere, and wishing to show that I was not entirely without confidence in Sikhs, I granted it. I shall, of course, keep a sharp look out on them in future.

Captain Abbott is at Nara, and Sirdar Chuttur Sing with the Sikh force at Hurripore. This, though strong in artillery, is under 1,500 men, the regiments being all very weak.

Captain Abbott has, doubtless, acquainted you with all the particulars of the émeute in his district: I shall, therefore, only say that, from all I can learn, Sirdar Chuttur Sing's conduct, at the commencement, was owing as much to nervousness and suspicion as any other feeling, and, but for the murder of the unfortunate commandant of artillery, I should have had hopes of an amicable adjustment.

As it is, the dislike to surrender the perpetrators would alone, I believe, prove an insurmountable obstacle.

My information agrees with Captain Abbott's, as to the present intention of the Sikh troops in Hazara, to effect a junction with the Pukli brigade, and then march on Lahore.

I am raising a militia, for the protection of this district. A regular soldier of any kind I have not with me, and, of the small party I brought with me from Peshawur, there are but three men whom I ever saw till I started.

It would appear that the commanding officers of the troops here, were compelled to join Chuttur Sing by their men. Colonel Boodh Sing returned here yesterday, with about a dozen of his men.

I have written to Colonels Baboo Pandey and Noorooddeen to follow his example.

Sirdars Goordut Sing and Mehtab Sing, Majeetia, at Rawul Pindee, have refused to join Chuttur Sing. The latter has sent agents both to Lahore, and Peshawur, to endeavour to corrupt the troops there; he has also entertained a few hundred men in Potwar, a district in which he has much influence.

Everything, if I may offer an opinion, depends on promptly sending up troops. A single brigade, with a nine-pounder battery, would be ample, with the aid which Captain Abbott and myself would be able to render. Delay will have a bad effect in every way, and may afford the mutineers opportunities of tampering with the Peshawur force.

I write in unavoidable haste, and in the midst of many interruptions.

Inclosure 18 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, August 13, 1848.

THE post hour yesterday had passed before my letter of that date, with its inclosures, was ready for dispatch.

This morning I have received a letter* from Lieutenant Nicholson, of which I inclose a copy; his prompt occupation of the strong fort of Attock, is a most important move at the present moment.

All was quiet at Peshawur on the 9th, but the troops were beginning to show symptoms of uneasiness at the reports from Hazara.

From Hussan Abdal, I learn that the Sikh troops there have marched, contrary to the orders of their officers, to join Sirdar Chuttur Sing in Hazara. Colonel Boodh Sing Man, with the officers of his regiment, and about fifty Sepoys, had got away from the force, and returned to Hussan Abdal.

Captain Abbott is said, from other reports, as well as in Lieutenant Nicholson's letter, to have left Shirwan, and come to Mishwanee, where, with the Mishwanee tribe and the Gundgurreas, he commands the passes into Hazara: if this be the case, he will be able to communicate, without difficulty, with Lahore;

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pioneers, being on the river, we have not been able to communicate with them, or receive their returns; and I have no report, as yet, of the remainder of Her Majesty's 32nd foot having left Ferozepore.

On account of the facility of water communication between this and Mooltan, I have directed the commissariat officer to establish a depôt here, for fifteen days' supplies, to be replenished, from time to time, if necessary: a party of 300 infantry, and 50 cavalry, of the chief of Sehung, remains for its protection, and the steamer "Conqueror" will communicate with this depôt, from our camp, every four days, if required.

The left column was to have marched to Kurrumpoor yesterday, and continues its march to-day. We proceed to-morrow, and hope to take up our position near Jaimpoor on the 18th; the left column should join us next day.

The artillery and siege-train boats have been delayed by high winds, and I cannot say the probable date of their arrival at Bindree Ghat; private letters give good accounts of the health of all in that quarter, to the 11th instant.

Having received some information from Lieutenant Edwardes regarding the canal that supplies the waters of inundation at Mooltan, I am sending off by boats, to-night, 100 bildars with tools, under protection of a large body of Malee Sing's troops, and his two guns, (the "Conqueror" steamer accompanying) to stop the head of the canal in the most efficient manner. Lieutenant Glover of the engineers will superintend the work, and I have requested Lieutenant Edwardes to be ready to support the party, if needful. The right column will be within five coss of the canal head, on Wednesday the 16th, the day the work may be expected to commence, and ready to give them any assistance, and probably overawe any interference on the part of the enemy.

Inclosure 21 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, August 15, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter, this day addressed by me to the Commander-in-Chief, relative to the state of affairs in Hazara, and on the north-west frontier. These papers will bring before his Lordship in Council all the information that has reached me relative to the émeute in Hazara, since I last wrote.

I am still in hope that it will prove that this disturbance has originated in other causes than those attributed to it by Captain Abbott, and that it may yet be prevented from assuming a very formidable character. The knowledge by the Sikhs that they will have to fight their way every inch out of Hazara, will, perhaps, have the effect of making them amenable to such arrangements as Lieutenant Nicholson and Captain Abbott may make with the Nazim.

His Lordship will have observed a very ready disposition on the part of Captain Abbott to believe the reports that are brought to him of conspiracies, plots, and treasons—a suspicion of every body, far or near, even of his own servants, and a conviction of the infallibility of his conclusions, which is not shaken by finding, time after time, that they are not verified. But he has many excellent qualifications as a public officer, an indefatigable application to business, a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest justice in all his investigations, decisions, and proceedings, and a kind, and eminently conciliatory, manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazara, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact almost worshipped, by the people; all persons that I have conversed with who have come from those parts, are unanimous in their estimation of him. They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharajah Golab Sing was glad to get from under his government on almost any terms. This is the people that has now risen at his bidding, and it is to be hoped that he may have influence and power to allay the storm which he has raised, of his own authority, and without communicating his purpose to any one.

It is very much to be regretted that Captain Abbott has, for the last three months, resided at such a distance from the Nazim, and has been thus shut out from all personal communication with him. Had he sent for the Nazim, or gone

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guns, with the lighted port-fire in his hand, and asid he would fire upon the first man that came near; the Nazim repeated his orders to the Colonel, and the Commedan was shot with musketry, and the guns brought to the place appointed by the artillerymen.

Now, if this be the true version of the affair, and the Nazim was really acting for the protection of the troops against the armed population, the cause of whose rising had not been communicated to him, the Governor of the Province, there is nothing in the circumstance which need stand in the way of an amicable arrangement for the suppression of further disturbance.

I have fully explained this to Lieutenant Nicholson, and the emissaries I have dispatched to the spot.

But it is highly probable, that the insurrection has already spread too far to be now put down by the means I have employed. The two regiments, with the troop of horse artillery, have marched from Hussan Abdal, against the orders of their officers, and have joined the Sirdar; and the regiment from Rawul Pindee has done the same; the mutinous Khalsa troops will soon, it may be found, be beyond the control of the Nazim, or any one else, and let the origin of the outbreak have been what it may, the result will be the same; the Sikh troops in the other districts will rise and join in the revolt, and there will be a general insurrection of the Sikh army.

There is no sign, hitherto, anywhere, of the conspiracy or combination among the chiefs, or any parties, at Lahore, as believed by Captain Abbott, or of any complicity on the part of any one connected with the Durbar in the present outbreak. I can account for the émeute in no way save that suggested in my former letter, and by Lieutenant Nicholson. I communicated Captain Abbott's suspicions to Lieutenant Edwardes, with whom Raja Shere Sing, the Sirdar's eldest son, is, before Mooltan. I have inclosed a copy of Lieutenant Edwardes' reply, contained in that officer's letter to me of the 10th instant.*

As I said before, I am not without hopes of checking this affair, without any military movement on our part; a very few days, at the utmost, will show if I am successful, but your Lordship will perceive that it may be a very serious business. If the troops rise generally, they will feel that they have committed themselves finally, and their last struggle will be as desperate as they can make it.

We must be prepared, as far as we can, for all events, though I trust the more serious may be averted. I am of opinion with the Brigadier, that we are strong enough for anything at Lahore; but we have no disposable troops to move to the westward, should a move become necessary. Jullundur and Ferozepore should be made as strong as possible.

Lieutenant Nicholson recommends the immediate advance of a brigade towards Hazara; a military movement would, at this moment, be premature; but, if a move should become necessary, it must be of sufficient strength to put down all opposition, without trusting to the undisciplined assistance Lieutenant Nicholson alludes to. Such a force as is now before Mooltan, or a little stronger in field artillery and cavalry, would easily beat the Sikh troops now available in the north-western frontier.

The fall of Mooltan, at this moment, would put a stop to all further insurrectionary movement: the columns will unite, in the course of four or five days at latest, but I fear, from Major Napier's last report, that it will be very nearly the end of the month before they will be all ready to break ground before the fort. It has never, it appears, entered into the contemplation of any part of the Sikh army to attempt a march to the rescue of Mooltan. They fancy that we have sent a very formidable force in that direction, and that, to enable us to do so, we have weakened ourselves at the capital.

Inclosure 23 in No. 35.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, August 15, 1848.

I AM of opinion the present collision has arisen from Captain Abbott's anxiety to prevent the troops in Hazara from deserting their posts, and proceeding to join Moolraj at Mooltan, in which design he had reason to believe

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I, at the same time, wrote to Colonel Boodh Sing Man, applauding his having separated himself from the bulk of his regiment, and returned to Hussan Abdal, and telling him to inform his own officers and men, and those of other corps, that all who return to their duty, at once, would be favorably considered, always excepting those connected with the murder of the unfortunate Canora.

Inclosure 24 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, August 16, 1848.

I AM, still, without any communication from Captain Abbott, of a later date than the 6th, though I hear, from all quarters, of his being at Nara, with a strong party of hardy mountaineers, guarding the pass into the Hazara districts: he seems to be in constant communication with Lieutenant Nicholson, but he will not write by the dak, and it takes a messenger six or seven days to come in. Still, I ought to have later intelligence, even by a private messenger.

Lieutenant Nicholson has acted with great promptitude and judgment, and his measures have had a great effect in checking the spread of the disturbance.

The accounts, to-day, are, that the soldiers, who so readily obeyed the orders of the Nazim to march to his rescue, find themselves in a predicament they little bargained for, and are well disposed to return to their cantonments, while the Nazim is more than ever desirous of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment.

I hope this may be the case. I have taken every possible means of effecting this, and bringing the outbreak to a close without bloodshed.

It is an extraordinary business. There is no doubt that a large part of the Pukli force was in a very bad state, and meditated mischief, in aid of the cause of Moolraj; at this the Nazim seems to have so far connived, that he did not report it, but he seems to have done so, rather from pique with Captain Abbott, than from disaffection. He had taken offence with Captain Abbott on account of his distrust and suspicion of him (whether just, or unjust, remains to be seen), and he would not report,—a circumstance which he thought would embarrass that officer.

After the death of Canora (an American, I find, who had been for a great many years in the Sikh artillery service), the Sirdar thought himself compromised irretrievably, it would appear, with us; and he is reported, after that, to have meditated rebellious proceedings on a large scale; but I have not yet heard, for certain, of his having done more than call the troops to him from the neighbouring cantonments, his excuse for which is the rising of the Mahomedan population, and their threatening Hurripore, and the other towns of Hazara. I can see no sign of the extensive conspiracy of which he was supposed by Captain Abbott to be at the head. The conduct of the Durbar, collectively and individually, has been entirely satisfactory in everything connected with this outbreak, and, indeed, in all other respects for the last two months.

Inclosure 25 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Nicholson.

Lahore, August 16, 1848.

I ENTIRELY approve of the measures you have taken to prevent the six companies of the regiment from Kurara from passing into Hazara, unmolested; and I feel that the promptness, judgment, energy, and decision, displayed in your proceedings at Attock and Hussan Abdal, have been of the greatest importance, in checking the spread of the disaffection and mutinous proceedings which are still rife in Hazara.

I have, already, given you my instructions on the subject of this outbreak. I trust that, on the receipt of my letters to Captain Abbott, yourself, and the

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though with all due deference, urge that not a day be lost in dispatching troops in this direction.

There is no immediate danger of any kind, but there would be, should the troops at Pukli manage to effect a junction with those at Hazara. Moreover, the Peshawur force is exposed to much temptation; the Moolkias are fickle; and British troops will be eventually required to take the fort.

In my last, I suggested the dispatch of only one brigade, and I continue of my former opinion that one is enough for all the work at present in hand; but, with reference to the possibility of the sending of a small force inducing the army at Peshawur to make common cause against it, I would now respectfully suggest that, as a precautionary measure, two brigades be sent.

If two cannot, however, be sent at once, better that one only should start, than that there should be any delay for a second.

I had, this morning, the pleasure to receive your letters of the 15th and 16th.

That my proceedings so far had met your approval, is a source of real satisfaction to me; and, though I regret that my exertions to restore peace and order have not been successful, I feel certain that a perusal of my correspondence with the Sirdar will satisfy you that I could not possibly have done more to carry out your instructions.

The force at Hurripore is said to be determined on an effort to release the troops in Pukli. When I hear of the arrival of Pertaub Sing's regiment at Kurara, I propose moving nearer Hurripore, and co-operating with Captain Abbott, to prevent any troops being detached for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of those now in Pukli.

My levies are about 1,000. As I mentioned in my last, I have been compelled to entertain the Ghebe and some other chiefs, solely to prevent their strengthening Chuttur Sing.

Inclosure 30 in No. 35.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, August 19, 1848.

THE night before last, being apprized by your letters of the critical state of affairs in Hazara, and how deeply Sirdar Chuttur Sing had become involved therein, I sent for the confidential servant of Raja Shere Sing, and told him that the time was come for speaking plainly to his master, and I begged him to assure the Raja from me that, as far as I could yet understand the disturbances in Hazara, Sirdar Chuttur Sing must be considered the victim, rather than the leader, of the Sikh soldiery; that if he was so, nothing could be easier than for him to make satisfactory explanations to either Mr. Cocks or Lieutenant Nicholson; but that, even supposing the Sirdar to be guilty, this ought not to cause the Raja more than the natural anxiety of a son. I had heard, I said, in the morning, that messengers had arrived from Sirdar Chuttur Sing, in Hazara, detailing the Sirdar's desperate position, the length to which he had gone in opposition to Captain Abbott, the murder of Canora, &c., and the impossibility of the credit of the Attareewalla family being now saved, and there being nothing now left for Raja Shere Sing but to go into rebellion and join Dewan Moolraj, not only with all his own force, but with as much of mine as he could manage to seduce; and finally, that the receipt of these incendiary letters had caused the utmost excitement in the Raja's camp; the soldiery calling upon the Raja to follow his father's advice, and the Raja hesitating between prudence and mistaken patriotism.

If, I said, this be true, the Raja's position is evidently a difficult one, but not too much so for the Raja's common sense and loyalty to meet. Let the Raja fully believe that no misconduct of his father could ever criminate the Raja in the eyes of the British Government; and take my word, that if Sirdar Chuttur Sing were to attack Captain Abbott sword in hand, it would in no way diminish the cordial approbation with which the Resident at Lahore has regarded the Raja's loyal endeavours to maintain discipline in the Sikh force before Mooltan.

The Raja's motbir was, I think, not prepared for so candid a discussion of

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will, at least, prevent them from being enemies: his conduct has, as you are aware, given me satisfaction all along, and I shall be glad if he is able to complete his claim to your approbation, by exhibiting a Sikh force fighting, for once, on the side of Government and order.

Inclosure 31 in No. 35.

Lieutenant Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Hussan Abdal, August 20, 1848.

SIRDAR JHUNDA SING joined me here this morning from Nara, having, he informed me, been unable to effect anything like a compromise between Captain Abbott and Sirdar Chuttur Sing; as the latter demanded an assurance of full pardon for all his past conduct, as a preliminary measure.

Considering how extremely desirable it is that matters should, if possible, be peaceably arranged; believing, also, that the Sirdar's conduct, of late, though heinous in many respects, had its origin in fear, I have taken upon myself the responsibility of offering him the following terms, which, whether he accept (as Jhunda Sing seems to think he will), or not, I hope will meet your approval, viz.

That if the Sirdar, immediately, come in to me, and send back the troops to their posts, I guarantee his life and izzut being spared, but I neither guarantee his Nazimship nor his Jagheer, which, indeed, I have intimated to him, he cannot expect to be allowed to retain. Further, he is to reside in any part of the Punjab he may be desired, and, if considered advisable, he is to leave the Punjab, for a year or two, on a pilgrimage.

All things considered, I trust you will agree with me, that the loss of the Nizamut and of his Jagheer will be a sufficient punishment; and that I have acted rightly in offering these terms.

Captain Abbott, I regret extremely to find, does not concur with me in thinking the march of troops from Lahore advisable.

I am still of the opinion expressed by me yesterday.

Should the troops not be wanted, they can go back again; but Captain Abbott seems doubtful of his ability to prevent a junction between the Pukli and Hurripore forces, and, should that junction take place, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that we shall not have the means of opposing them in the field. They might march anywhere they pleased throughout the Punjab, plundering and destroying as they went; or they might (as they probably would) besiege Attock, in which the Peshawur force could no longer be expected to remain staunch.

Pertaub Sing's regiment, which fear induced to retire from Janeeka Sung, is still at Rawul Pindee, notwithstanding Captain Abbott's orders to it to return to its post at Kurara, and my promise that, on its doing so, its pay should be sent to it. In the present state of affairs, I cannot leave this for a day, or I would go down to Rawul Pindee, and give them the lesson I suspect they will not be satisfied till they get.

When this corps was in open mutiny on the road, six days ago, I sent Sirdar Lal Sing, Morareea, a roobukaree, directing him to stop the return leave men of the Peshawur and Hazara forces at Rotas, lest their numbers should swell the mutinous ranks. Lal Sing has neither acted on this roobukaree, nor written in reply to it.

I have since removed the restriction as regards the men of the Peshawur force.

I am not so sanguine as Jhunda Sing seems to be, of Chuttur Sing accepting my offered terms; I suppose I shall know, by this time to-morrow, whether it is to be peace or war.

Were I not afraid of the Sikh troops at Rawul Pindee seizing on Margulla, or, by a forced march, getting between me and Attock, I would move nearer Hurripore; I am sure it would assist negotiations.

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yourself and Lieutenant Nicholson, on pain of dismissal from the service of Government, and other punishments.

P.S.—It will be satisfactory to you to know, that Raja Shere Sing has convinced Lieutenant Edwardes that the stories of his treasonable purposes are false. I have never seen reason to think them otherwise.

Inclosure 34 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Nicholson.

Lahore, August 23, 1848.

I ENTIRELY approve of the intimation, described in your letter of the 20th, which you made, in communication with Sirdar Jhunda Sing, to Sirdar Chuttur Sing; and confirm and ratify your engagement to him, should he have acted upon it.

I had, already, determined on sending for the Sirdar to Lahore, on terms very similar to those you have offered to accord to him.

Sirdar Golab Sing has written, most earnestly, to his father, urging him to come without delay to Lahore, and to save the family from the ruin which must, otherwise, await it. Golab Sing says that his father is in infirm health, and entirely in the hands of those about him, who are by no means well-disposed persons; and he fears that orders and letters, which were addressed to him, are either not communicated to him at all, or, in his ignorance of Persian, misrepresented to him. He has requested me to inclose the letters to you, to be safely conveyed as addressed, viz. to Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

I consider it would do more harm than good to send British troops towards Hazara, at this time. If ever sent, they must be of strength to overcome all the opposition that the Sikh force on the frontier, joined to those of Hazara and Hussan Abdal, could offer to them.

In a letter from Major Lawrence, received to-day, I find that officer concurs with me as to the inexpediency of sending British troops towards Hazara, in the present state of the question.

Inclosure 35 in No. 35.

The Resident at Lahore to Lieutenant Edwardes.

Lahore, August 23, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 19th instant, reporting your interview with Raja Shere Sing regarding the Hazara disturbance.

I have read your letter with very great satisfaction, especially after the expressions contained in the close of your private letter of the 17th instant, regarding the ferment into which the Sikh force had been thrown by the arrival of the Hazara messengers; but the result of your conversation with the Raja did not surprise me, for I had, all along, had a high opinion of his integrity of purpose, and fidelity, confirmed by his conduct, since he joined you at Mooltan, which appears to me to have been unexceptionable.

It was in the spirit of this confidence that I have communicated to the Raja, through yourself, all my correspondence with Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and the steps I have taken to bring this unhappy affair to a satisfactory conclusion.

Sirdar Golab Sing has, at my request, written daily to Raja Shere Sing, informing him of the position of affairs at Hazara, and of the purport of my conversation with him regarding his father's conduct.

Lieutenant Nicholson and Major Lawrence, with the best opportunities of ascertaining facts, entirely concur with me that the Sirdar's conduct is owing more to his distrust and fear of Captain Abbott's feelings and intentions towards himself and the troops, than from any other cause. The Pukli brigade was, I doubt not, in a very disaffected state, and Moolraj's emissaries wrought them

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The Resident's mission of Sirdar Jhunda Sing has failed, and he has now sent off Dewan Deena Nath to try his persuasions, and bring in the refractory Sirdar. He considers that, even if the Dewan's mission is unsuccessful, the delay occasioned by these negotiations, will be favorable to us, and enable us to take the field against the Sirdar, at a comparatively healthy period.

Sirdar Jhunda Sing has turned out as great a traitor as Sirdar Chuttur Sing. The Resident admits that "the events related by Captain Abbott, certainly, tend to throw very strong suspicion on the fidelity and sincerity of purpose of Sirdar Jhunda Sing, which is strengthened by the notoriety of the influence possessed by that person over Sirdar Chuttur Sing, which was not ill-described by Sirdar Golab Sing, who, on my expressing to him my hope that Jhunda Sing would succeed in his mission, said 'it is well known that my father would obey Sirdar Jhunda Sing before his Gooroo.'"

Respecting Dewan Deena Nath's mission, he observes, "I confess I have very little expectation of his being successful, after all the indulgent and considerate measures, which have hitherto failed; and, if the lives of our district officers were not in jeopardy, and the interests on the frontier were not so vast and important, I should not have considered any further attempts at an amicable settlement of the rebellion, necessary, or, perhaps, proper; but, under the circumstances, I think I have acted rightly in using every means, not inconsistent with the authority of the British Government, or compromising my position, which have any likelihood, be it never so small, of preventing the evil spreading further; and I can see that the people about the Durbar, who have better means of judging, perhaps, than I am in possession of, do expect that the Raja will bring in the rebel Sirdar with him."

It will be observed, that Captain Abbott's position is not so favorable as it was. The disaffected troops have made their escape from the ravine where they were hemmed in by him, and he is now compelled to act as it were on the defensive. He, however, feels secure in his position, and seems to apprehend no immediate danger.

Captain Nicholson and Major Lawrence continue to importune the Resident to send a British brigade to their assistance, but the Commander-in-Chief agrees with the Resident in thinking that such a move would be most premature and hazardous, and would be more likely to lead to a concentration of the disaffected in that wild country, than to the extinction of a rebellion, from the inability of the force sent to act with vigor and effect.

We have observed to the Resident, in our letter of the 14th instant,* that we fully approve of his determination not to detach a small British force into such a country as Hazara, at so great a distance from its supports, weakening us, at the same time, at Lahore; where it is indispensable that we should be immovably strong.

We assured him that we felt great anxiety for the officers in Hazara, but the detachment of a small force from Lahore would be so full of imminent danger to the State, that it becomes necessary, however distressing it may be, to set aside all considerations of a personal nature.

No intelligence of any importance has reached us from Mooltan, since the date of our last dispatch, but we daily expect to hear of the capture of the town.

With reference to the critical state of affairs in the Punjab, we have now thought it necessary to issue orders for the assembling of the force mentioned in our letter dated the 10th of June.†

We have requested the Commander-in-Chief to take immediate measures for collecting, at Ferozepore, an army of about 13,000 men, which, in addition to the 7,000 men now before Mooltan, will make an army of the strength originally contemplated in our letter above mentioned. We have, however, deferred any general augmentation, until affairs in the Punjab shall reach a fuller stage of development, and we shall be able from events to judge of the actual necessity of that measure.

The Commander-in-Chief has been cautioned not to weaken the garrison of Lahore, or the strength of troops in the Jullundur Doab, for the purpose of securing the object we now have in view.

* Inclosure 47 in No. 36.

† No. 28.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

*Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.**Shirwan, Hazara, August, 7, 1848. Evening.*

THE Sikhs have assembled in force at Hurripore, by order of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, to set free the brigade in Pukli who are endeavouring to effect their escape, in order to march upon Lahore. The Sirdar ordered out the troops from the city, contrary to my order yesterday, and ordered Colonel Canora to bring out his guns. The Colonel refused to do so without my order. The Sirdar sent two companies to seize them; the Golundauze betrayed their trust; and whilst Canora was endeavouring to defend himself, he was shot dead. The Sirdar, immediately, ordered up the Hussan Abdal, Rawul Pindee, and Kurara forces, in all about five regiments, with a body of horse. I have ordered out the armed peasantry, and will do my best to destroy the Sikh army. Report says that the officers in Peshawur have been imprisoned by the troops. I trust this may not be true, but it is too likely, as I hear that the Gahundia force has received promise of aid from the Peshawur troops. I trust the precautions I have suggested have been taken, viz., the complete command of the Jhelum. Maharajah Golab Sing is said to have gone to Rujjoree; but I cannot vouch for this news. I understand that Colonel Canora has left a family in Lahore. I earnestly trust the Government will provide for them as suits the family of a man so faithful, and whose last act was unsurpassed for gallantry by anything recorded in history. He stood alone against the whole Sikh army; and when his dastardly Golundauze refused to fire, took the match into his own hand. After his fall, and before he expired, he is said to have killed two Sikh officers with his double-barrelled pistol. If the precautions I have so often suggested, have been taken, this uprising of the Sikh army may be an eventual benefit. Had the force remained quiescent, it would have been difficult to make arrangements for the security of the country, against an army so ungovernable, and Sirdars so treacherous.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

*Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.**Nara Gundgurb, Hazara, August 10, 1848.*

THE Gahundia brigade being in a state of mutiny, and making no secret of its determination to march upon Lahore, after issue of pay, I deferred the issue about a week, that you might receive timely notice, and that our troops might arrive nearer to Mooltan. This not suiting the conspirators, of whom the head is Sirdar Chuttur Sing, the Gahundia force sold off its grain, called in its cattle, packed up its baggage, and would have marched the next day, had I not closed the roads by means of the armed population. Hearing that Sirdar Chuttur Sing had, upon this, written for aid to Jummo, Peshawur, and Khatir, I gave secret orders to cut off, or obstruct, any aid that he might thus summon, but not otherwise to make any demonstration. On the arrival of three companies from Hussan Abdal at Hurripore, the Sirdar ordered the troops out into camp, to be the more ready to aid the Gahundia brigade, or to march forward. Colonel Canora's guns were of the number. He, fully understanding the purpose of this movement, remonstrated, saying that, as it was made without my cognizance, and contrary to my wish, as he believed, it would subject him to the charge of treason. He wrote to me, saying that they wished to take possession of his guns, and asking whether he was to surrender them. In the meanwhile, the Sirdar sent his most confidential servants to persuade him to yield, and, this failing, ordered two companies to take them by force. Canora loaded his two guns with grape, and ordered the Golundauze to fire, but they replied that they were the Sirdar's servants. On his havildar also refusing, he cut him down, and, seizing the match, applied it to the vent. The gun burnt priming, and, at that instant, two men, one a sepoy of Richpaul Sing's corps, shot him through the thorax. Before he died, he attempted to cut down another man, but was himself cut down by a third sepoy, who was behind him, dying as gallant a death as I have ever heard recorded.

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however, insisted, and sent his confidential servant to persuade him to comply. Failing of this, he ordered two companies to seize the guns by force. Canora wrote to me, begging my orders whether to give, or refuse them. His note reached me with the messenger reporting his murder. The companies came to seize the guns, which were doubly charged with grape. Canora ordered to fire; the Golundauze refused. He cut down the havildar, and applied the match. The gun burnt priming, and he was shot by two of the Sirdar's servants. He attempted to rise, and cut down an officer, but his throat was severed from behind by a sabre cut. A more loyal and gallant death I have never heard of. The Sirdar rewarded the murderers, by his own confession, with 1,000 rupees. He says, that Canora was engaged to join the peasants in plundering Hurripore. He knew nothing whatever of what was passing amongst the people of the country, and, more than once, expressed anxiety lest the town should be plundered. The Sirdar immediately cut off my daks, sent me no explanation of the event, but called up troops in all haste from Hussan Abdal, &c. He had previously called up three companies without my sanction, upon plea of the unsettled state of a country which has not known such tranquillity during forty years past. Such a move was suspicious, as the numbers of the troops are always exaggerated on such occasions; and, when I heard he had summoned more aid, I was obliged to assemble the zemindars to arrange, if possible, for its interception. The rapidity with which troops move, and the delay attending the assembly of levies of armed peasantry, enabled him to get in his troops without accident. I remonstrated with him, demanded the murderers of Canora for trial, and ordered him instantly to send back the troops summoned, taking upon myself, in that case, the settlement of the whole country; and assuring him that, unless he obeyed, the worst consequences were likely to happen. The officers received his orders with distrust, demurred, delayed, but were finally borne along by the men. Boodh Sing made his escape—a curious commentary upon the two attempts to shake his loyalty. I left Shirwan, for a position nearer the new theatre of operations, the foot of the Gundgurrh mountain, terrible to the Sikhs for three most bloody and disastrous defeats, from numbers not one-fourth of their own. It is within sight of Hurripore, and may be called the throne of Hazara, as here I have at my back the bravest and most loyal of the population, and my orders are better obeyed than from any other locality. The levies, however, are not assembled, and my purse is so light, that, as yet, I have not ventured to enrol more than 400 matchlocks, to cope with a regular army of 4000, with cavalry, and twelve guns. Captain Nicholson, with his usual promptitude and judgment, rode over to Attock, on hearing of disturbance here, and found his way into that important stronghold, turning out the Sikh company. The effect of this move has been, already, beneficial, and may be of the utmost consequence. I think, with submission, that he might, with advantage, levy a few corps of Mahomedans, to hold Attock against attacks on either side, and to hold in awe his district. To my repeated, and, I think, moderate demands, Chuttur Sing has given me no decided answer. His last letter is so insolent that all correspondence, henceforth, is impossible; nevertheless, I have released his vakeel, with a schedule of my demands, and with refutations of his charges against me, and have given him until to-morrow morning for decision. If he then refuse the terms, I shall be satisfied that it is not mere alarm about himself from the population of Hazara, but a sense of detected guilt, and consequent desperation, which has led to this rebellious conduct. If he comply, the country need not be ravaged, nor the army destroyed, and his conduct may be made the subject of legal investigation. Upon this point, I confess I am anxious. This country has been restored to order and peace by my hand; and it would cost me many a pang to undo all that I have effected; and it is only by making a waste around the Sikh army, that armed peasantry can cope against the bayonets, artillery, cavalry; and fortifications of a regular army.

The Pukli brigade is still in limbo. I have allowed Lieutenant Robinson, at his own request, to superintend the sealing of the Mahugul pass. It is unfortunate that the Pukli brigade got intelligence of my possession of that pass in time, as, in all probability, it would have been destroyed. As it never actually marched, I am reluctant to order it to be destroyed, until in motion. I am most happy to hear that there is a good reserve at Ferozepore, for great efforts will be made to shake the Peshawur force; and the troops here say they have

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Gahundia brigade has made its escape, and arrived at Nowa Shihr, the petty chiefs having been bribed off with gifts and promises of Jagheers; and that the Hazara force awaits only its arrival to march with it upon Lahore. This news requires confirmation. I see not how this force is to march until joined by that in Peshawur, and Captain Nicholson has possession of Attock. I have sent messengers for further intelligence. Lieutenant Robinson, at his own request, started last evening for Mahugul, the pass leading out of Pukli, in order to encourage the peasantry to destroy that force, should it attempt to escape. I have proclaimed all traitors who hold intercourse with Sirdar Chuttur Sing. The want of funds has prevented me from levying any considerable body of troops, and I am dependent upon the armed peasantry, who need a week's notice to collect, and will not act far from hence. This gives the most serious advantage to a foe possessing a regular army and a full Treasury, and wholly unscrupulous in promising. I, nevertheless, am making great efforts to nullify these disadvantages, and hope to be at least partially successful.

3 P.M.—The news of the escape of the Pukli brigade, so confidently bruited at Hurripore, is not confirmed at this hour, and I begin to doubt it.

Inclosure 8 in No. 36.

Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.

Nara, Gundgurb, August 13, 1848. Night.

I DO not know that I have, anywhere, expressed an opinion that Sirdar Chuttur Sing had any notion of personally joining in a rising of the troops; but I certainly believe that those who least appear in this rebellion are its chief fomenters—men who play the game, but stake nothing of their own. Whether or not the Sirdar is one of these, he seems to be universally regarded as such, both by his own servants, and by the rebellious soldiery; and, in order to test the question, I determined to see whether he would give me intelligence of a mutiny, ascribed, by several of my informants, to him. After waiting, in vain, some weeks, I put the question, whether he was aware that there was anything amiss with the Pukli force; and he replied, that he had heard of nothing. Again, I waited to see whether, as the mutiny ripened, he would consult with me upon it. But, although not only my own servant in the Pukli camp, but the whole jeerga of Munsera, wrote, saying the brigade had sold its grain, called in its cattle, packed up its baggage, and was ready to start at an hour's notice, the Sirdar was entirely silent upon the matter—a matter which he had ten times better means of learning than I possess. His vakeel was in my camp, cognizant of all my movements, excepting indeed that which required the extremest secrecy, viz., the sealing the Pukli pass. Yet, even this was known to him, and to every one, a few hours after issue of the order.

If the Nazim cannot discover amongst his own Sikh army a disorder so obvious as to excite the attention of the peasants of Pukli, so that they wrote to inquire whether I had ordered the march; or if, knowing, he fail to report it to me, it is manifest that he is not worth consulting upon measures for its suppression; or that, being a party concerned, he was no safe person to intrust with a knowledge of arrangements requiring profound secrecy in order to success.

If the Nazim supposed that he observed any disorder amongst the population of the country, it was, assuredly, his duty to inform me. I, who knew they were simply aiding the Government, by obeying its orders, had nothing to inform him of. His silence upon the subject was a remarkable feature calculated to strengthen distrust. He seemed afraid to inquire into arrangements made for the suppression of the mutiny, lest the origin of that mutiny should become, in turn, a topic of inquiry.

He listened instead, to his own fears; murdered Colonel Canora, the most loyal officer in the army; stopped my daks; ordered up troops contrary to my orders; and broke into open rebellion, writing for aid to Jummoo, and desiring the Jummoo prince to incite the Peshawur troops to mutiny.

With exception of the Pukli mutiny, which I reserved as a test of the various reports ascribing the origin to him, I had very little occasion for conference. The country was profoundly tranquil; the people were happy, and

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Inclosure 9 in No. 36.

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Hussan Abdal, August 14, 1848.

I WAS in hopes, this morning, that I had prevailed on the Kurara regiment to return to its duty. It has, however, advanced to Janeeka Sung, within three miles of Margulla, and, if it think itself strong enough, will, doubtless, attempt a passage. I shall employ all fair means to induce it to return to its duty, but will, forcibly, resist its advance beyond Janeeka Sung, as I consider it of great consequence that it should not be allowed to form a junction with the Hazara force. I was on the ground all last night myself, and am about to return thither.

This constant knocking about prevents my writing, as clearly, or carefully, as I could wish. I am from ten to fourteen hours every day in the saddle, though not very strong, and though the heat is great.

I have ordered Colonels Baboo Pandey, and Noorooddeen, to return hither; and they promise to obey.

When moving out to take up a position last night, I took the party of Goorchurras here with me, and they seemed much pleased with such a show of confidence.

My occupation of Margulla has, I believe, disheartened the Sikh troops in Hazara; and, if I can only frighten, or coax, the Kurara regiment to return to its post, I shall have little doubt of Baboo Pandey's and Noorooddeen's corps following its example. I sincerely trust it will not be necessary to resort to severe measures, more particularly as my levies are, almost entirely, from the people of the country; all, but 100 Peshawurees and 200 Gundgurreeas and Mishwanees, from Hazara.

If the Sikh troops in Hazara were under the control of their officers, there would be no difficulty, but, as usual in the Sikh army, few, or none, of the officers have any influence with the men.

Inclosure 10 in No. 36.

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Hussan Abdal, August 15, 1848.

HEARING that the troops in Hazara were talking of making a diversion in favor of Pertaub Sing's regiment at Janeeka Sung, and considering it as of the greatest consequence that the junction of that regiment with the Hazara force should be prevented, and fair measures having, hitherto, failed to induce the corps to return to its duty, I determined, with extreme reluctance, as a last resource, to resort to coercive measures. I, accordingly, drew up a body of militia, raised by me since my arrival here, 400 strong, together with about 300 men from Peshawur and Hazara, placed at my disposal by Major Lawrence and Captain Abbott, in front of the position of the corps and its two guns, at Janeeka Sung, about an hour before day break this morning, and sent a message to the officers and men, informing them that my formerly offered terms were still open to them, that I should rejoice if they accepted them, but that, otherwise, I should be compelled to consider them as open mutineers, and treat them accordingly. I gave them half an hour to reflect, assuring them that, at the expiration of that time, if they did not return to their duty, I would attack them.

I have, now, the pleasure to report the success of my exertions. The colonel came out, begged pardon, on his own behalf and that of his men, and declared their willingness to march whithersoever I directed them. I, accordingly, saw them en route to Rawul Pindee, before leaving the ground. The debate between the peace and war parties was a stormy one, the former being in a very small majority.

The moral effect of the failure of this regiment and its guns to enter Hazara, and of their subsequent return to their duty, will be very great; and

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could blockade Hurripore in a few days, but nothing further, the fort having some eighteen or twenty guns, and I being destitute of artillery.

Since yesterday, I have reduced my levies to about 500 men.

I find I brought the affair with the Kurara regiment to a crisis not a day too soon, a force from Hurripore having actually been told off to assist its advance. 500 men secure me in my position here; and, should it be necessary, I can quadruple the number, in a day or two.

Do not give credence to any reports of atrocities, on the part of my levies, which may reach you. I hear that certain parties in Rawul Pindie (who were most anxious that Pertaub Sing's corps should surprise me) are circulating such.

Noorooddeen and Baboo Pandey have just come in, with about twenty of their men.

I would beg to solicit that instructions be, at once, sent to Mr. Cocks (who, I suppose, will be here, in the interim), as to whether he is authorized to promise a full pardon to the Sirdar for all that has occurred. If he be, there is no difficulty whatever; and if not, as I said before, troops cannot leave Lahore too soon.

Inclosure 12 in No. 36.

Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.

Nara Gundgurh, Hazara, August 17, 1848.

THE question whether to suffer the Pukli brigade to march away unmolested, or to raise the population of Hazara to arrest its progress, was long a most anxious consideration with me; on the one hand, I felt ashamed that a military force should march, in open mutiny, through my district, with impunity, and considered that a lesson of severity was highly desirable; on the other hand, I dreaded to arouse a high-spirited people to the work of destruction, just as I had succeeded in calming them into such a state of tranquillity and obedience as had never before been known. I reflected that the destruction of the brigade would, in all probability, be misrepresented at Peshawur as an act of treachery on the part of a British officer, and lead to outrage on the British functionaries there; and that, after having destroyed those by whose agency I had governed them, the people might resist all authority, and subside into a state of the most hideous disorder. Day and night, the subject pressed upon my mind; but when, at length, I received your distinct instruction to take advantage of the hatred of the people for the Sikhs, and destroy the brigade, should it attempt to escape from its cantonments, all my scruples were allayed, and I prepared to carry out my duty at any cost.

How arduous was that duty, I cannot easily describe. The Sikh brigade, supplied with carriage, and ready to march at one hour's notice, lay at the distance of two long marches from my station. The only defile in which it could be assailed, with any reasonable hope of success, could be passed by it in a single march, and was one march from my post. The corps mustered upwards of 800 good bayonets, 200 cavalry, 4 field-guns, and 20 zumboorahs, commanded by one of the bravest officers in the service. Up to the very moment of march, I could make no arrangements to intercept them on the road; I could not depend upon being joined by above 500 of the armed peasantry. My own guard did not, at that time, exceed 100 men, and there were 80 Sikh sepoy with me, who would, certainly, take part with their comrades. The instant of attacking the mutinous brigade would place me at war with the whole Sikh army, a war which I had no funds to support, the revenue having already been paid into the Nazim's hands. But my duty had been prescribed, and I lived upon the watch to carry it out to the uttermost.

With this view, I increased my guard, gradually, to the number of 200, dismissed half my Sikh escort, upon plea of want of shelter, and procured from the treasury in Hurripore, in small instalments, about 15,000 rupees; and, as the position I held was one of the least eligible in the country, owing to the treachery and cowardice of the inhabitants, I arranged that, on my departure to take command at the pass, Lieutenant Robinson and Mr. Ingham should move to Nara, and take possession of the Gundgurh mountain, there to raise that warlike and faithful population to resist the remainder of the army.

As the information upon which I was about to act, very generally attributed

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but this would have nullified every advantage of position which I possessed over the commander of a regular army. It would, in fact, have placed me in his power. He then showed me a letter from Sirdar Golab Sing, his son, saying that Ootar Sing must be sent to reside with me. This is the peculiarity of Sikh intrigue: the movers of the machinery never appear, and have thus the incalculable advantage of living, perhaps, under the very roof of those against whom their operations are directed, and of influencing their counsels by their advice. I excused myself from this arrangement, upon the double, and very valid, plea of insufficiency of the space for even my own establishments, and of the want of shelter during the rainy season. The presence of Ootar Sing would not have prevented the march of the Pukli brigade, of which Sirdar Chuttur Sing affected to be profoundly ignorant, but it would have defeated all my arrangements for destroying that brigade upon its march. The slightest hint of my knowledge of the purposed movement, would have led to the march up to Mahugul of a force from Hurripore to meet it; a design actually adopted by the Sirdar, upon finding the passes sealed.

It was about this time that, in a conversation with the Sirdar's vakeel upon the state of the troops at Pukli, on his broadly asking whether I had any doubt of the Sirdar, I confessed that I thought his silence upon a subject so widely known, a very doubtful circumstance. This led to a correspondence in which he urged the impossibility of one so highly favored as he had been, abusing our goodness. I replied, that I was no judge of hearts—but that, after the battle of Sobraon, when we had taken 300 guns from the Sikhs, and were prepared to destroy them in toto, we had granted to them the greatest of boons, their lives, and that, now again, they were in array against us. It was impossible for me to judge who were exceptions to so wide a multitude of ingrates. I trusted the Sirdar might be, but could not see, in his argument, any explanation of his blindness and deafness to the open mutiny of his own army. It appeared to me far better that the Sirdar should understand that he had incurred suspicion, and be induced to show himself without disguise, than that the dangerous and treacherous system of apparent confidence with traitors should remain in force.

It was, probably, because Chuttur Sing discovered how far I was indebted for intelligence to Colonel Canora, that he determined upon his murder. This I have related elsewhere. It formed the break in the ice of deep and silent treachery, so long carried on with a smiling face. He, instantly, arrested the posts; summoned all the troops to his aid; raised levies in Potowar; and wrote to Maharajah Golab Sing, his sons, and nephew, for aid in troops, and for letters to the Peshawur army, and to the ruler of Cabool. He also set a price upon my head.

I, on my part, assembled the chiefs of Hazara; explained what had happened, and called upon them, by the memory of their murdered parents, friends, and relatives, to rise, and aid me in destroying the Sikh forces in detail. I issued purwannas to this effect, throughout the land, and marched to a strong position, 15 miles nearer to, and within sight of, Hurripore, where I could command the co-operation of the bravest and most faithful of the tribes of Hazara.

Here, my levies have been slowly increasing; but I have been prevented from taking active and offensive operations, by your order to await Mr. Cocks' arrival. I have, elsewhere, related Captain Nicholson's most opportune and masterly seizure of Attock, and repulse of a Sikh corps, with two guns at Janceka Sung; both achieved by promptitude, and energy of purpose, without bloodshed.

I have, from first to last, insisted upon two conditions, the surrender for trial of the murderers of Colonel Canora, and the dismissal of the corps mutinously assembled, to their several cantonments. These conditions Sirdar Chuttur Sing evades answering. He has identified himself with the murderers in paying them for their bloody work, and he declares that the troops will no longer obey him. We have seen them obey him, too readily, when he ordered them to destroy an innocent and loyal man, and to mutiny against my authority, and that of their officers; yet when anything is required of them consistent with their allegiance, he assures me they will not obey. In this case, the sooner they are destroyed the better.

The insolence of the Sirdar's language has, long since, closed all epistolary intercourse between him and me. His son's vakeel visited him yesterday, and brought his offer to wait upon me, if I would grant him a free pardon. I declined this; thought it quite impossible that we should meet amicably, until I knew the sentiments of Government upon his conduct; recommended him to remain at

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Inclosure 15 in No. 36.

The Resident at Lahore to Captain Abbott.

Lahore, August 19, 1848.

THE runner who was bringing the western dak, in which your letter of the 14th was, was stopped on the road, and was released by Sirdar Jhunda Sing, on his way to Hazara. Two daks thus arrived together. This is the first instance of anything having happened to the western dak, since I have been at Lahore, which is very creditable to the department.

Your statement of the disturbance in Hazara, does not materially differ from that received from other quarters; nor does it differ in facts, making allowance for different statements of motives and intentions, from that given by Sirdar Chuttur Sing, in his representations to the Durbar, and letters to me.

It is only just to the Sirdar, as well as to yourself, in reference to the Sirdar's assertions, that the matter should be fairly investigated.

It is clear that, whatever may have been the intention of the Pukli brigade, no overt act of rebellion was committed by them till the initiative was taken by you, by calling out the armed peasantry, and surrounding the brigade in its cantonment. It seems, also, that the armed peasants were threatening Hurripore, before the Nazim ordered the guns out of the town, to the open space between the fort and the city.

The Sirdar states that this was merely a precautionary measure, in consequence of the rising of the population, the cause of which he did not know; while you state that it was for the purpose of bringing off the Pukli brigade, which was surrounded and hemmed in by your orders; of which orders the Governor had had no notice.

The death of Commedan Canora is stated, both by the Sirdar and yourself, to have been occasioned in consequence of his disobedience of the reiterated orders of the Nazim, and to his having offered violent opposition to those whom the Governor, after many remonstrances with the Commedan, sent to enforce his orders.

I cannot at all agree with you as to the character you assign to this transaction. Sirdar Chuttur Sing was the Governor of the province, military and civil, and the officers of the Sikh army were bound to obey him, the responsibility for his orders resting with him. Taking the worst possible view of the case, I know not how you can characterize it as "a cold-blooded murder, as base and cowardly as that of Peshora Sing."

I do not intend, by what I have said above, to justify Sirdar Chuttur Sing—far from it—his conduct since the death of Canora has been highly culpable, and I have no doubt you have just grounds for your suspicion of him before, and of the intentions of the Pukli brigade. Still, there is no proof of misconduct before the raising of the armed population, and his plea is, that all that he has done since, has been of a defensive character.

If the Sirdar will now return to his allegiance, and submit to have his conduct and his allegations investigated by me, he should be allowed to do so. I am awaiting from him a reply to my moorasila of the 10th, and that sent by Sirdar Jhunda Sing, when I shall be able to give more explicit instructions to Lieutenant Nicholson and yourself.

I trust you keep the armed population you have called up, in hand; and that you will be able to restore discipline and order, should the Sirdar now succumb.

I am surprised at what you now say of Sirdar Jhunda Sing: when he was ordered towards Mooltan, you wrote to me a very high character of him, and have often said you believed him loyal, up to the time he left you. It was only the other day, when I wrote to explain that you did him injustice in supposing him to have acted in disobedience to Lieutenant Edwardes' orders, that you replied you were very glad to find that such was the case, for that you had a high opinion of his character, while serving under you in Hazara.

I have every confidence in your using your best endeavours, in co-operation with Captain Nicholson, to prevent this out-break from spreading further, and to bring the affair to as satisfactory a conclusion as circumstances will admit of. If the Sirdar did really act, in the first instance, under a mistaken notion of your

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burning August sun, forty miles, and halted three miles on the right rear of the Sikh army. Captain Nicholson will inform you of the progress of negotiation. That matters can be accommodated amicably I do not see much hope, because the Sirdar has, from time to time, made me the same offers of submission, whilst writing to Peshawur, Jummoo, and Cabool, for assistance. In fact, he appears to me to be satisfied that his crimes cannot be pardoned. I most sincerely hope I may be disappointed. The dash for Attock was clearly arranged by a better and bolder military genius than Chuttur Sing. It rendered necessary on my part the increase of rigor in the blockade at Pukli and Nowa Shihr. I have neither table, chair, nor tent; my ink is nearly dried up by the intense heat; so that I trust you will kindly excuse this slovenly note. Captain Nicholson occupies a strong post upon the Attock road. I hold back, to act in concert upon the rear, or flank, of the enemy. Considering how very leniently you have judged of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, I cannot understand why he should thus persist in his rebellion, hopeless as it appears. There is some mystery requiring explanation. Had your letters reached me previous to the close of my negotiations with the Sirdar, I should, certainly, have felt myself authorized to hold out great hopes of forgiveness. As it was, I could only say that I could not take upon myself to pronounce a pardon, but that, considering his rank, position, and the merits of his son, in the eyes of our Government, I thought he had good reason for hope. If Chuttur Sing did not encourage, or wink at, the Pukli mutiny, his word is worthy of all evidence in the case of Canora's death. But if, as I think I can prove, he was a fomentor of that mutiny, then Canora's death was a deliberate murder, to get rid of the only loyal officer of the Hazara field force. You assume for granted his statement that Hurripore was threatened. Hurripore was never safer. None of the Moolkias were thinking of it, and nothing had been done but to guard the pass out of Pukli. The Pukli brigade was not, as you suppose, invested. The strictest orders were given not to molest it, nor to stint its supplies or communications, so long as it should stand fast; and these orders were well obeyed. Afterwards, I resorted to severer precautions, on finding that Chuttur Sing had summoned troops to his aid.

Inclosure 18 in No. 36.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, August 23, 1848.

LAST night, I got the Governor, Sirdar Golab Sing, to return to his house, adjoining mine, and immediately visited him.

Both he and his son, Colonel Alla Sing, are, decidedly, of opinion that no time should be lost in sending a light brigade of British troops, consisting of not less than one troop of horse artillery, one regiment of cavalry, and three regiments of infantry, one being European, to coerce the Sikh force in Hazara, whom, it is folly to suppose, can be subdued by the people of the country.

They consider that the measure, so far from being likely to irritate, or disturb, the force here (as Captain Abbott supposes), would give them confidence, and confirm them in their present good conduct; and that one brigade would be ample, if put in motion at once, the rumour of which would deter many from joining the Sirdar.

If I may be allowed, I myself would suggest, that a second brigade, with the addition of a light field battery, should follow, with all practicable expedition, to obviate all possible risk of failure; but, on no account, would delay for it the march of the first.

From what I can learn, Sirdar Chuttur Sing would appear to have no intention of coming to an amicable arrangement, unless he and his troops are, first, assured of an entire indemnity for past offences, with which, I have already said, it is impossible we can comply.

Therefore, as he has wealth, extensive possessions, and is looked up to by the Khalsas as the last of their old Sirdars, unless promptly and efficiently

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to their homes and occupations, should no cause for active operations have arisen, and to give up again the strongholds they are said to have forcibly possessed themselves of.

If the Hazara chiefs evince as much readiness to restore peace and order at your bidding, as they have shown to rise for war at your beck, it will be highly to their credit, and will render them deserving the consideration and favor of their Government.

Inclosure 20 in No. 36.

Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.

Bullur, Hazara, August 25, 1848.

OOTAR SING not having waited upon Captain Nicholson, according to promise, I prepared for severe measures with Sirdar Chuttur Sing's force, and marched up my levies, about 2,000 strong, to within a mile of his camp, expecting that his brigade would attempt, this morning, the passage of the ravine. I had been busy, all night, in preparing to undermine the gun road. It is probable that these hints had their effect, for, on riding over to the ravine to select a more effective position for my camp, I met Ootar Sing, saluted him, and passed him over to Captain Nicholson. I supposed his coming was to be regarded as a return of the Sirdar to his allegiance. But Captain Nicholson writes to me, that he insists upon the dismissal of my force, previous to the return of the mutinous regiments to their duty. Now, I did not assemble one of the men with me, until he had called the regiments mutinously around him; and it is quite out of the question to dismiss a man, until he and his army obey orders. He is, evidently, anxious to gain time, and has no disposition to submit. I hope Nicholson will cut short the conference, as, in such negotiations, the honest party is, generally, the loser, and it is difficult to keep together long such a force as mine. The Sirdar, whilst professing submission, and promising to send his son, has sent another son, Taiga Sing, to Rawul Pindee, who has marched up the force there, towards Margulla. The whole of his conduct bears the undoubted stamp of insincerity. Fear alone can make him hold to any promise, or agreement.

Inclosure 21 in No. 36.

Captain Abbott to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sooltanpoor, Hazara, August 26, 1848.

THE result of Ootar Sing's conference with Captain Nicholson was, that no settlement was made. But Captain Nicholson agreed, that I should withdraw my levies to a distance, which I have, very reluctantly, done.

Fear alone brought Ootar Sing to Captain Nicholson's camp. They are making efforts to get up Pertaub Sing's regiment, by some by-road, whilst the conference lasts. It has actually marched for this purpose, by order of Chuttur Sing, which I consider a breach of all good faith. The brigade is still halted opposite the Moti ravine, which they have not dared to cross. My proper post is in that ravine; but, by the terms of compact, I am camped about two and a half miles south of it, on elevated ground, above the Hurroo. Pertaub Sing's corps will, probably, endeavour to get round by Jhung. Matters are so involved that peace seems to me impossible. My orders regarding the Gahundia and Nowa Shihr forces were stringent, on learning the march of Chuttur Sing southward. I cannot alter them, on the faint chance he holds out of submission. I believe that had I, at once, proceeded, according to my wish, to cut off his supplies, and drive sleep from his eyelids, he, or his brigade, would have submitted ere now. The Torbaila and Barookote forts have submitted to me, and so, perhaps, had all the hill forts, but that I have repressed the zeal of the mountaineers, who delight greatly in pulling them down. All their garrisons would surrender, were Chuttur Sing defeated. Sirdar Chuttur Sing's fort of Syedpoor fell, before the zeal of the Geebhas: I gave no order to this effect, and have resisted all offers to destroy his

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those animals with the guns upon their backs, made a dash at them with my cavalry. The howitzers, however, were loaded, and in position, and opened a fire which swept the whole line of my approach, so that I was obliged to draw the horsemen off, to the right, under cover of the village Tandeh, and to one of the processes of the Moti ravine. I, then, returned to look after the foot, which had wholly disappeared, having dived into a small ravine, when first the artillery opened upon it. In the darkness of the night, it was long before I could discover a single Gole, and very long, ere any considerable portion could be thrown into the ravine. I saw, with feelings of extreme impatience, a long column of dust, indicating that much of the Sikh force had already passed over, and, by the time that, having entered the ravine, I had penetrated down it to the gun road, not a straggler was left on the farther side. I tried to rally my people to an attack with the sabre; but, either they had been bribed to remain inactive, or their fears made them so, for neither encouragement, nor taunt, could persuade more than a handful to follow the Sikh march along the ravine, which, for half a mile, ran parallel to it. I, then, after many fruitless attempts to inspire confidence, ordered the force out of the ravine, that we might unite with Captain Nicholson's camp at Pohr. Owing to the extreme darkness, and our ignorance of the relative position of the different elements of the Sikh army, I made no attempt to charge with the cavalry, about 100 strong. I reached Captain Nicholson, some hours before day-break. He had been told that this move was consequent upon the erroneous intelligence conveyed to the Sikh camp, that Ootar Sing had been imprisoned by him. If so, that intelligence was issued with the approval of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, who has made no explanation of the treachery to this moment. It will be observed, how accurately I estimated the import of Ootar Sing's presence, when any treason of Sirdar Chuttur Sing is a foot. It gives perfect assurance of his good faith to the person whom he attends, and it renders it impossible for the Government to believe that a father can be hatching rebellion, whilst his son is a hostage for his good faith. It, also, gives an insight into the counsels of the party upon whom he is attendant. Captain Nicholson and myself marched this morning to Hussan Abdal, to cover Attock, which we conceive must be the object the Sirdar has in view. Considering the paramount influence which Sirdar Jhunda Sing has ever possessed over the mind and counsels of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and that the military movements of the latter are far too skilful and bold to be attributed to his own suggestion; that the army was actually preparing for its passage of the ravine, whilst the two Sirdars were in conference; and that Sirdar Jhunda Sing gave no intimation of the design; it does not appear to me safe that he should, any further, possess influence over our counsels, or knowledge of our designs. Captain Nicholson has, I believe, informed him, that if he cannot bring the army, or the Sirdar, to obedience, by noon this day, he will receive his dismissal to return to Lahore: a measure in which I heartily concur. The deep and artful treachery of Sirdar Chuttur Sing will, I trust, now appear evident, and the precautions taken by me to foil it, when first discovered, will no longer seem to have been dictated by unfounded suspicions.

Inclosure 23 in No. 36.

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Hussan Abdal, August 27, 1848.

PERTAUB SING'S regiment, yesterday, crossed by a pass four miles to the southward of Margulla, which latter a detachment of my levies was watching.

In the evening, while Sirdar Ootar Sing was with me, Sirdar Chuttur Sing advanced his force, in direct violation of a promise not to move, made by him to Sirdar Jhunda Sing, an hour previous. This brought him in contact with Captain Abbott's levies, and a skirmish commenced, which lasted till past midnight, when the Moolkias, having expended their ammunition, and showed their total unfitness to combat with regular troops, fell back, though without loss, as they had fought from the shelter afforded by a large ravine. This move was made by Sirdar Chuttur Sing, after the receipt of the inclosures which accompanied your letter to me of the 23rd instant, and after a written promise, given by him to Jhunda Sing, to obey the Durbar's and your orders in everything.

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Inclosure 26 in No. 36.,

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Hussan Abdal, August 28, 1848.

SIRDAR CHUTTUR SING has not yet moved from Oosman Khatir. Yesterday evening he was joined by Pertaub Sing's corps, to which he is, to-day, disbursing pay and gratuity. Captain Abbott started on his return to Nara, this morning.

Sirdar Ootar Sing was with me, when his father advanced on Captain Abbott's position, on the evening of the 26th, and he accompanied me hither, yesterday morning. Having no reason to believe him cognizant of the treachery perpetrated by his father, (whose conduct has now, I conceive, passed the bounds of forgiveness,) I proposed to him this morning that he should prove his loyalty by proceeding, at once, to Lahore, and joining there his elder brother Sirdar Golab Sing. To this he assented, and I gave him his rookut accordingly. Unless his intention was merely to deceive me, which I hope it was not, his desertion of his father, at this crisis, cannot fail to weaken the latter's cause with the troops.

I mentioned, yesterday, that I was unable to oppose the Sirdar in the field, and, if attacked, should, probably, throw myself into Attock: on more mature reflection, however, I am of opinion, that if Major Lawrence can secure that fort without me, I could be more usefully employed, outside, in harassing the Sikh camp, stopping supplies, cutting off their communications, and preventing risings, in other parts of the country, in the Sirdar's favor. At Attock, the entire of the rest of the district, and its resources, would be at the Sirdar's command.

I wrote to this effect to Major Lawrence this morning. Till I receive his reply, I shall keep between the Sikh camp and Attock.

An ishtihar from you and the Durbar, confiscating Chuttur Sing's Jagheers, would prevent the armed peasantry on them from joining him.

Sirdar Jhunda Sing has, hitherto, effected nothing. I have desired him to exert himself to detach the officers of the force; should he not succeed to some extent, in the course of a day or two, I purpose giving him leave to return to Lahore.

I do not expect to be allowed to remain here to-morrow.

Inclosure 27 in No. 36.

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Hussan Abdal, August 28. Evening.

YOUNG Ootar Sing has disappointed me by going back to his father. I gave him the option of doing so, or proceeding to Lahore, and scarcely expected that he would deceive me for no purpose.

I believe Chuttur Sing will advance on this, to-morrow, when I must retire. The intelligence of the arrival of a single brigade on the Chenab now, would get me over half the army, and keep my levies staunch; as it is, some of them are, naturally enough, in communication with the enemy.

P.S.—When Pertaub Sing's corps was in open mutiny on the road, I wrote twice to Sirdar Lal Sing, Morareea, to stop the return leave of absent men, coming up, but he did not pay the slightest attention to my orders.

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Inclosure 30 in No. 36.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, September 1, 1848.

SIRDAR CHUTTUR SING has now fairly, and I think finally, taken his line, and will use every endeavour to make his rebellion as formidable as he can.

His next move will probably be, to march upon Attock, when, Major Lawrence apprehends, the Sikh force in Peshawur will join him. If Lieutenant Nicholson gets into the Fort of Attock, and the garrison, which is entirely Mussulman, except the Killedar, remains true, the Sikh army could not reduce it, so long as water and provisions last, and with these it is well stored.

The force at present with Sirdar Chuttur Sing is about 2000 regulars, with eight guns, and, perhaps, 1000 armed villagers. Without reinforcements from Peshawur or Bunnoo, this force cannot attempt to march, either on Mooltan, or Lahore. It would not march from its present position to Mooltan, with artillery, in less than sixteen days, by forced marches, at this season of the year; and as our heavy guns are expected in camp on the 4th and 5th, I trust the place may be in our hands at that time.

Still, it is very desirable to gain as much time as we can, with reference to our operations in Mooltan, and the necessity of marching Europeans. The weather is getting much cooler, already, and, twenty days hence, marching to the westward and northward of Lahore will be unattended with inconvenience, or risk.

I shall try, therefore, to hold the Sirdar in parley, a short time longer, though I have no expectation of his coming in to me. I have, to-day, received from him a letter to myself, and an urzee to the Durbar, excusing himself from obeying the Durbar order to come in to Lahore, on the plea that the troops will not allow him; and urging that Raja Tej Sing, or Raja Deena Nath, or some European officer, be sent out, immediately, to assure the troops and himself, and come in with him.

I have summoned the members of the Durbar to come to me this afternoon, and I shall, probably, settle to send Raja Deena Nath to bring in the Sirdar. This will be no bad test of the sincerity of the Raja's fidelity; if he really desires to do so, there can be little doubt of his being able to bring in Sirdar Chuttur Sing. If he is in any way mixed up in the rebellion, (as many strongly suspect, though on what grounds I have not been able to discover,) the Sirdar will keep him with him, and, in that case, he is better there than at Lahore.

I have taken the precaution of requesting Brigadier Campbell, C.B., who is commanding the division, during General Whish's absence, to direct that the Jullundur moveable column be held in readiness to move, at once, if called upon. I shall not, however, move it, unless Sirdar Chuttur Sing, reinforced by other troops, or numbers of the disbanded soldiery, marches towards the capital: in which case, it will be desirable to repel, and punish him, ere he can arrive. I could move a light brigade, perhaps, from the troops we now have, which would be sufficient, but the intervention of the Ravee presents some difficulty in the detachment of a small force from the garrison.

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from the fort of Attock, urgently calling for additional levies, to the amount of 600 foot, under a Mahomedan commander, in addition to the 400 he had already placed in garrison, having found it necessary to remove the Sikh troops, in whom he had no confidence.

He pressed that the reinforcement should be with him, by sunset this evening, as the rebel Sirdar and troops were confidently expected to beleaguer the fort on the morning of the 2nd. I had, some days previously, sent him one company of Colonel Ram Sahaie Sing's Poorbeah regiment, and two of Mahomedan Ramgoles; but these he had kept at Khyrabad, on this side of the river.

In an hour of the receipt of the express, 200 foot, under Nezamoodowlah Mahomed Oosman Khan, were en route, and, on the exigency of the case, though I could ill spare him, I sent Lieutenant Herbert, who would reach the fort by sunrise, to take charge of it, on Lieutenant Nicholson's leaving; which he purposed doing, with the view to keep up the spirits of his raw levies, and do as much injury as possible to the rebels.

I hope, in the course of the day, to get off 400 more men. Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed, on whom I called to furnish that number, pleaded that he had given them all leave on the festival of Ead.

Sirdar Khan Sing, Majeetia, who is not given to volunteering his opinion, says, "that should the fort of Attock fall, there can be no longer any hopes of keeping the Peshawur force to their duty," and in this opinion all to whom I have spoken, fully agree.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing, Sirdar Golab Sing has told me that the troops are talking among themselves of their two months' pay being due, and the little prospect there is of their getting it, as, in the present disturbed state of the country between this and the Jhelum, treasure would not be sent.

Inclosure 35 in No. 36.

Captain Nicholson to Major Lawrence.

Attock, September 1, 1848.

I WAS glad to see Herbert this morning.

I saw to the provisioning of the fort, when passing through, on my way to Hussan Abdal, and there are now three months supplies in it; there is no deficiency of amunition either; and, with a trustworthy garrison of 800, or 1000 men, there is no reason why it should not hold out, while the provisions last. I have placed the guns in position, and am having their ammunition stored.

I have not either superseded Surmookh Sing, or turned out any of the garrison, but I have made arrangements so that it can be easily effected, if ever necessary.

I have told Nezamoodowlah that he is commandant of the faithful part of the garrison, and Surmookh Sing that he is to do nothing without consulting him. While Herbert remains, however, he will, of course, do as he pleases.

The boats are safer, immediately under the fort, than at Khyrabad, where, at night, 600 yards off, we have no command over them. I have, accordingly, kept them at this side, but moored higher up than formerly. Dun Raj's men will not now be required; indeed, he told me plainly the other day, that, should it be necessary to eject the irregulars, he could not depend on their assisting. I have, therefore, told him to stay at Khyrabad.

Chuttur Sing halted, both yesterday and to-day, to please the faithful in his camp, I believe; it being the Ead.

It is reported both that the Pukli brigade has escaped, and that the Rawul Pindee Goorchurras have joined Chuttur Sing. Both reports, however, require confirmation. Should the latter be true, I shall be obliged to alter my plan of operations, as the enemy will be very superior in cavalry. You will have heard that he has boned your Dufturree, Ram Doss. Abbott is, I believe, investing Hurripore, but he will be able to effect nothing against it.

I gave Jhunda Sing his rooksut yesterday.

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many of their horses, arms, &c. Raja Shere Sing, too, voluntarily, brought his guns into play, and enfiladed the enemy for two or three hours.

Lieutenant Edwardes notices, in terms of high commendation, the valuable services of two volunteers during the morning, namely, Lieutenant Christopher, of the Indian Navy, and Mr. Hugo James, the latter having joined him from Sukkur in June last, when the presence of any European was most acceptable to him.

Before quitting Lieutenant Edwardes' camp, to-day, I decided on a site for a rocket battery in its front, which Major Napier immediately directed to be constructed, and which will, I have no doubt, commence at sunset this evening, under the direction of Captain M'Kenzie, horse artillery.

Inclosure 39 in No. 36.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Byragee Garden, before Mooltan, September 3, 1848.

IN compliance with your instructions, I took an opportunity of suggesting to Major-General Whish, C.B., commanding the Mooltan field force, the propriety of summoning the garrison of Mooltan to surrender, before the siege is opened, and also of advising the inhabitants to abandon the city, if they valued their lives and property.

Last night, I received from the Major-General a draft of a proclamation to the above effect, with directions to render it into the vernacular, for transmission to Mooltan, but, (as you will perceive) the name of the Maharajah being not once mentioned in the document, I took the liberty of bringing the omission to the General's notice, observing that our Treaty with Duleep Sing is yet in force; that it is against him Dewan Moolraj has rebelled; and that, if we were to exclude his name from a proclamation, recalling the garrison of a Punjab fortress to their allegiance, and mention only the name of Her Britannic Majesty, it would seem as if we had, already, determined to confiscate the State; whereas, if such a thing happens, it will only be under the pressure of events, to which, indeed, we seem very near, but which have, as yet, not elicited from the Government any allusion to such an intention.

Under these circumstances, I suggested the addition of the words "and her ally, His Highness Maharajah Duleep Sing," after the sentence "in honor of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain;" and, as the Major-General has been good enough to approve the alteration, I think it right to report the matter for your information.

Inclosure 40 in No. 36.

Proclamation by Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B., Commanding the Army before Mooltan, addressed to the Inhabitants, and Garrison thereof.

I INVITE both to an unconditional surrender, within twenty-four hours after the firing of a royal salute, at sunrise, to-morrow (5th of September), in honor of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

I shall, otherwise, in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Government of India, commence hostilities, on a scale that must insure early destruction to the rebel traitor and his adherents, who, having begun their resistance to lawful authority with a most cowardly act of treachery and murder, seek to uphold their unrighteous cause, by an appeal to religion, which every one must know to be sheer hypocrisy.

If the town be surrendered to me, as above suggested, private property will be respected; and the garrison of the fort will be permitted to withdraw unmolested, on giving up Dewan Moolraj, and his immediate associates, and laying down their arms, at one of the eastern gates of the town, and fort, respectively.

Given under my hand and seal this 4th day of September, 1848.

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or not, he cannot act with Captain Abbott, henceforth, at Hazara, and his conduct must be inquired into.

Sirdar Golab Sing was most importunate with me about sending Raja Deena Nath to endeavour to bring in his father, and to put down the rebellion, and he seemed most confident of his success. The Durbar also desired it, and the Raja seemed by no means unwilling to undertake the mission. I confess I have very little expectation of his being successful, after all the indulgent and considerate measures which have, hitherto, failed; and if the lives of our district officers were not in jeopardy, and the interests on the frontier were not so vast and important, I should not have considered any further attempts at an amicable settlement of the rebellion, necessary or, perhaps, proper; but, under the circumstances, I think I have acted rightly in using every means, not inconsistent with the authority of the British Government, or compromising my position, which have any likelihood, be it never so small, of preventing the evil spreading further; and I can see that the people about the Durbar, who have better means of judging, perhaps, than I am in possession of, do expect that the Raja will bring in the rebel Sirdar with him.

I have promised him merely life, and an honorable investigation into his conduct—if he have committed no crime beyond what I was aware of, when Rajah Deena Nath was sent—on the condition of his immediately dismissing the troops to their cantonments, or leaving them, and coming in to me at Lahore.

I, certainly, think that, if on his arrival at Rawul Pindee, the Raja should find an announcement of the occupation of Mooltan by our troops, he may, then, have a better chance of putting down the rebellion; and, as the heavy guns were expected at Mooltan to-day, and everything was ready for commencing operations against the city on their arrival, it is very probable that that intelligence will overtake the Raja, ere he can reach Sirdar Chuttur Sing's camp.

Inclosure 42 in No. 36.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Byragee Gardens, before Mooltan,
September 4, 1848.*

THE intentions of Raja Shere Sing must of course be a question of the deepest interest to you; and I think it right to lay before you my own impressions on the subject.

If those intentions are to be judged of, by the past conduct of the Raja, then, nothing can be more satisfactory, or loyal. Since the Raja's arrival before Mooltan, he has omitted neither persuasion, threats, or punishments to keep his troops to their duty. He brought to light (about three weeks ago) an extensive treasonable correspondence with Moolraj and his own camp, collected the evidence diligently, and, when the crime was fully brought home to Shoojan Sing, (a Sikh Jagheerdaree horseman of some consideration, and still greater notoriety,) he carried the extreme sentence of the law into effect, and caused the traitor to be blown from one of his own guns. The act was extremely unpopular in the Raja's force, and I rather think that he himself expected resistance; for he begged very hard that the execution might take place in my camp, instead of his own; and when, for political reasons, I refused this request, he remarked, "Very well, I place my honor in your hands, and you must carry me through the consequences."

Again, on the 1st of September, when my force changed ground, and was opposed by the enemy's light troops, in the jungle before Mooltan, Raja Shere Sing, of his own accord, mounted his guns on the high bank of the nullah on our left, and assisted our movement by enfilading the rebels. Of course, I praised the Raja much, for this voluntary act of zeal and loyalty; and he followed it up, on the 3rd of September, by moving out of his camp, and cannonading Moolraj's troops at the bridge, whom he threw into great confusion; but he was obliged to retire, by the heavy guns of the fort, and (I fancy) the refusal of Sirdar Ootar Sing, and Sirdar Shumshere Sing's division, to share in such heretical proceedings! The Raja has, since, acknowledged to me, that "he never expected to effect anything by this move; but he thought it would be a good thing to get a few men killed on both sides, so as to destroy the good under-

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Major Napier admitted that the first plan must cost life, if successful ; and might prove a failure ; but he recommended the risk being run, for political reasons, and with reference to the state of the Punjab generally, which renders an immediate moral effect necessary ; and, this being the avowed reason on which Major Napier advised a *coup-de-main*, the Major-General called upon me, as in your confidence, to state whether I considered the times demanded that so great a risk, and certain loss of life, should be incurred ? I, respectfully, submitted my opinion, that, Sirdar Chuttur Sing having advanced from Hazara, contrary to all orders, things had gone too far wrong to be rectified, by the simple capture of the city of Mooltan ; that, as the Sirdar had asked for Raja Deena Nath to be sent to him, and you had complied with that request, it appeared to be Chuttur Sing's object to gain time to feel the pulse of the Peshawur troops, before he finally committed himself, but that I thought the Peshawur troops would, at any rate, stand fast, and await the result of the conference between, perhaps, the two most sagacious men in the Punjab. Deena Nath, I have ever regarded as, at heart, bitterly opposed to our administration, and, ostensibly deputed to bring in Chuttur Sing, I should expect that their discussion, will be all as to the possibility of holding out. Yet, it is on this alone that I think any hope rests, of preserving the peace of the Punjab ; for, whatever may be Deena Nath's inclinations, they seldom prejudice his judgment. Sympathizing with the Sirdar's aspirations, he will still point out to him that, however the siege of Mooltan may embarrass us for the time, in the end we can crush the Khalsa army, as easily as, once, we spared it ; and that the only result of a rebellion would be the final extinction of the Raj. Whether Chuttur Sing will listen to this prudent advice, is another question. I merely spoke to the probability that things in Hazara will remain in *statu quo*, until Deena Nath's arrival, and, consequently, that there is no immediate necessity for precipitating the attack on Mooltan. General Whish said that, this being the case, he should reject, at once the idea of a *coup-de main*, which, in his opinion, would be justified only by urgent political necessity. The opinion of all the officers present was, also, against a *coup-de-main*.

Plan No. 2, was then discussed, and Major Napier explained, that it was the one most consonant to military science. He wished, however, to know from me, whether, if we marched to the north of Mooltan, I could undertake to keep open the communication with Bahawalpore ? I replied, that I was willing to do so ; but, by water, not by land ; and, therefore, the communication would be slow. It would also involve the detachment of a strong body of men, to guard Shoojabad. Colonel Drummond expressed a belief, that there was no water for a camp north of Mooltan, and almost every body was of opinion, that the change of place would be construed by the natives into a defeat. Under these circumstances, plan No. 2, was given up.

Lieutenant Lake submitted a proposition, to run a trench from the battery on the extreme right of the Daoodpotra camp, north-east, to a point called Ramteerut, which would be upwards of a mile ; and to throw up heavy-gun batteries at such points of this entrenchment as would drive away the enemy, without much loss of life, and with certain success. This plan being, generally, approved of, was, at last, adopted ; and, this morning, General Whish moved the right of his camp to the left, and I extended my right, so as to bring the two forces closer to each other ; and, at day-light, the trench was traced, and opened out. Thus the base of operations has been laid down, and, I trust, that all will now go on prosperously to a happy issue.

Moolraj has, I think, gained more by recruits from the Manjha, during the last fortnight, than he has lost by desertions ; and the corrupt and disloyal conduct of the Kardars between Mooltan and Lahore, in allowing these parties to pass, cannot be too severely censured. No preventive measures which the civil authorities may devise can be effective, if opposed by the whole native executive of the country.

You ask me as to the real fate of Bhace Maharaj : I believe that he was, as first reported, drowned, after the fight with Mahee Sing's force, and that his pretended resuscitation at Mooltan was an imposture. His name even is, now, seldom heard ; but, whenever the question is asked, the Sikhs of course favor the notion that the Bhace has voluntarily retired, for a short space, and will revisit his followers, at leisure.

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has been, I believe, forwarded by the brigadier to your Lordship.) This detachment could join Brigadier Wheeler's column at Eminabad, in three marches; and the so united force would be enough to crush anything Sirdar Chuttur Sing could bring against it.

If Sirdar Chuttur Sing should not cross the Jhelum, but continue in rebellion in the Sind Sagur Doab, the force under Brigadier Wheeler would halt at Eminabad, until it can be joined by a full brigade, and until arrangements can be made for, at the same time, organizing a third brigade, to follow in support of the advance column, and securing the safety of the garrison of Lahore, during the absence of the force to the westward.

In order to effect the accomplishment of these objects, at the earliest possible date, I would propose that the army of reserve, should be directed to assemble at Lahore, instead of at Ferozepore.

I consider it most desirable on every account, in reference to the events of the last few months, that the place for assembling the army of reserve should be Lahore.

Should the expedition to the north-west, I have contemplated above, be necessary, and it seems to me, now, almost inevitable, the base of operations must be Lahore, and the arrival here of regiment after regiment, of infantry and cavalry, and troop after troop, of artillery, will enable the officer commanding the army to organize the brigades required in advance, without delay, and, at the same time, to secure the safety of the garrison, which might, otherwise, be compromised by the withdrawal of the troops necessary for their formation.

Should the expedition to the north-west not be necessary, still the arrangements of the Government, in respect to the Punjab, for facilitating the accomplishment of which the formation of the army of reserve has been determined on, will have to be carried out at Lahore, and the presence of the army here will be most salutary.

To Lahore, moreover, nearly every regiment, troop, and battery, which is to constitute the army, must eventually, under all circumstances, come.

The effect of troops marching through the Jullundur Doab, and Manjha, and from Ferozepore at this time, will be most beneficial in keeping quiet the disaffected, and assuring the well-disposed, and preventing the spread of the rebellion, as will the knowledge, which will soon be promulgated, that the order has gone forth for the assembly, forthwith, of an army at Lahore.

I would earnestly request your Lordship's early consideration of the above suggestions. The crisis is an important one; and I am satisfied that the sooner the troops are in motion the less will be the work eventually to be performed.

I would recommend that the 29th, from Kussowlee, now en route to Ferozepore, should be directed to continue its march, accompanied by one of the corps of native infantry, now at Ferozepore, to Lahore. This would bring hither the two regiments, by about the 23rd of this month.

Inclosure 45 in No. 36.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, September 8, 1848.

I AGREE with Lieutenant Edwardes in thinking, that Raja Shere Sing, after all that he has done, will not commit himself, unless his father's rebellion is more successful than, I hope, it will be; but, if the rebellion assume the national character which the Sirdar desires to attach to it, and becomes more general, I cannot expect that Raja Shere Sing will continue faithful.

As yet, no chief has, openly, joined Sirdar Chuttur Sing; not because they are generally better affected to us, but rather because they have all separate and conflicting interests, and feuds; and a combination between them is very difficult.

Neither the army beyond Hazara, nor the chiefs generally, appear to have been prepared for this move of Sirdar Chuttur Sing; and their openly joining, or not joining, will depend greatly on the prospect of ultimate success which they may think the rebellion to bear.

If Raja Shere Sing should not join his father, supposing the rebellion to gain head, it will be very surprising; and it is equally surprising that the Sirdar should have taken his decided line, without having secured the concurrence of his son.

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In any measures which may be necessary, for the purpose of collecting this force of 13,000 men at Ferozepore, the Governor-General in Council trusts that his Lordship will see the absolute necessity of not weakening the garrison at Lahore, and the troops stationed for the protection of the Jullundur Doab.

The Governor-General in Council deems it expedient to address to you this letter without delay. Further communications will, very shortly, be forwarded to you on the same subject.

Inclosure 48 in No. 36.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lahore.

Fort William, September 14, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 30th ultimo, relative to the disturbance in Hazara.

I am directed to observe, that Sirdar Chuttur Sing's conduct, after the very favorable view taken of it by you, and the lenient measures which you had acquainted the Sirdar were in your contemplation, can only be accounted for by admitting that he is faithless to the British Government, as Captain Abbott has all along declared him to have been.

The Governor-General in Council fully approves of your determination not to detach a small British force into such a country as Hazara, at so great a distance from its supports, weakening us, at the same time, at Lahore, where it is indispensable that we should be immovably strong.

The Governor-General in Council feels great anxiety for the officers in Hazara; but the detachment of a small force from Lahore would be so full of imminent danger to the State, that it becomes necessary, however distressing it may be, to set aside all considerations of a personal nature.

With regard to your opinion that an army should be assembled as soon as possible on the frontier, I am directed to state that his Lordship is in communication with the Commander-in-chief, on the subject, and the result will be made known to you hereafter.

No. 37.

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee.

October 7, 1848. (No. 78.)

WE forward the further correspondence which has taken place with the Governor General's agent at Benares, regarding the Maharance of Lahore.

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Major Macgregor to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Benares, September 16, 1848.

I HAVE written to Mr. Newmarch, informing him that Sirdar Jeebun Sing cannot be allowed to act as the Maharanee's vakeel, or to have access to her, on any plea whatever; but that the Maharanee may select some one else as her agent, if she wish to do so.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

The Secretary to the Government of India to J. Newmarch, Esq.

Fort William, September 23, 1848.

THE Governor-General in Council does not suppose that you have any improper object whatever in view, in seeking permission to communicate with Her Highness in confidence and alone. That permission, however, cannot be conceded in the case of the Maharanee, any more than in other cases of a similar description.

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a sufficient garrison for the stations where they may be formed, and thus enable the Commander-in-Chief, at once, to avail himself of nearly an equal number of veteran soldiers, for service in the Punjab.

We have ordered the Government of Bombay to send a brigade through Sind, to act in co-operation with the Punjab army; and, as this has long been in a state of preparation, it will no doubt be early enough in the field to afford effectual assistance.

We have, also, called upon the Government of Madras to aid us with three regiments, by relieving the three Bengal Native Infantry regiments stationed at Midnapore, Khyhook Phyoo, Chittagong, and Dacca. With these means and appliances, we shall be able to form, upon our north-west frontier, a large and powerful army, sufficient to overpower all opposition, and to maintain itself against avowed, as well as secret, foes.

Chuttur Sing's proceedings are very unaccountable, and, at present, exhibit a great want of energy. He occupies much the same position as he did, when we last wrote, except that, by forcing the Dumboor Pass, he has released the Pukli brigade, and thus strengthened himself with more men and guns; of which he is now said to be in possession of fourteen. He marches, and counter-marches, from place to place, in the upper portion of the Sind Sagur Doab, without seeming to be able to come to any decision as to what future course to pursue. He is either waiting for the junction of the Peshawur force, or reinforcements from Golab Sing; and may, then, proceed to Attock, Mooltan, or Lahore. The last is the most improbable, though the most desirable for us; and as it is the one most openly talked of by him and his troops, the declaration is, probably, made to conceal some other design.

Captains Abbott and Nicholson report all well, up to the 19th of September, on which date they had just heard of the retirement of Major-General Whish from Mooltan; an event which will, probably, lead to some more decisive measure on the part of Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

From Major Lawrence, we have heard up to the 16th of September. He had taken the precaution of getting all the guns of the brigade into his own power; and, as he is supported by a strong body of Mahomedans, it is to be hoped that there is no cause for apprehension, even should the Sikh force at Peshawur declare, openly, against him. He reports rumours of a desire, on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan, to take advantage of the present disturbances, and attempt the recovery of Peshawur. Major Lawrence gives no credit to these rumours. If such an attempt were to be made, it would, no doubt, be by the invitation, and encouragement, of the Sikhs, who, forgetting their ancient animosities, and unmindful of the effect of such assistance, should they succeed in their vain endeavour to re-establish the independence of the Khalsa, are alive only to their immediate necessities, and would be ready to invoke his aid, provided he could do anything effectual against us, in the present emergency. Indeed, the dispatch of emissaries to him, both by Moolraj, and Sirdar Chuttur Sing, shows that solicitations have been actually made to him for assistance. Such a junction is, in the present posture of affairs, the only thing which could cause us the least apprehension; not that Dost Mahomed Khan is himself in any strength, or, in any way, formidable in the field, but his declared adhesion to the party in open defiance against us, would go far to withdraw the sympathies of the western Mahomedan population from our cause, and enlist it all upon his, and thus deprive us of many friends, who, in a period of extreme danger to our detached officers, have, hitherto, stood by them, with most unexpected cordiality, and afforded them sincere and valuable support.

The rising on the borders of the Trans-Sutlej Commissionership, which is reported by this mail, was of trifling importance, and has been suppressed.

You will be glad to learn that the Resident has occupied the fortress of Govindgurh, which we urged upon him, when the prospect of hostilities first commenced. We shall derive great advantage from this measure, in our future operations, for the Jullundur and Lahore forces are thus brought into close and uninterrupted connection, and have placed us in a commanding position, in the most disaffected district in the Punjab. The Resident has, also, taken the precaution of occupying the citadel of Lahore, with a British garrison.

It is the intention of the Governor-General to proceed, on the 10th instant, to the north-western frontier, to enable him to regulate our future proceedings, with reference to the Punjab.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 38.

*The Adjutant-General to the Secretary to the Government of India.**Simla, September 5, 1848.*

I AM directed by the Commander-in-Chief to forward a letter from Brigadier C. Campbell, C.B., commanding at Lahore, of the 1st instant, intimating that, at the requisition of the Resident, he has ordered the moveable column at Jullundur to be held in readiness to move towards Lahore, at the shortest notice.

I am to add, that the Commander-in-Chief has communicated to the Resident his opinion, that the garrison of Lahore, as now constituted, is fully equal to the defence of that place; and that his Excellency considers the detaching of so small a body as a brigade of infantry, in a hostile country, beyond the reach of immediate support in case of need, a measure of very questionable expediency; while, at the same time, with his present impressions, which he has communicated to the Governor-General, his Lordship is strongly opposed to the withdrawal of the only European regiment in the Jullundur Doab, or to the force in that district being reduced in any way.

Inclosure 4 in No. 38.

*Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.**Peshawur, September 5, 1848.*

I REGRET to report, that affairs in this quarter, among the Sikh soldiery, have taken a turn within the last day or two, so that my oft expressed hopes of keeping them to their duty are much shaken.

Last night, at 8 o'clock, Colonel Alla Sing reported, that he had just heard that Colonel Ootar Sing's regiment had sent a deputation to Colonel Mehtab Sing's, requiring to know if they would join in an attack on my house, during the night; and that they had replied, that they would, on the corps reaching their lines; that it was arranged to seize the guns first, and, then, advance.

Sirdar Golab Sing, immediately, sent for Colonels Ruttun and Mehtab Sing, commanding Sikh regiments in this cantonment (Alee Murdan), and Colonels Meer Junglie, and Amcer Khan, commanding the Mahomedan and Hindostanee corps. The two former declared, they believed the report to be untrue, though they knew that emissaries were about; but that they would go and see if there was any stir in the lines. They, shortly, sent to say, that most of their men were asleep. The General sent, and satisfied himself that such was the case.

He directed the other two Colonels to send four companies from each of their regiments, immediately, to take charge of the guns (twenty), which are posted on the right and left flanks of the cantonments, which was done, expeditiously, and quietly; the other companies of these corps remaining under arms, but in their huts.

He then sent to Raja Soochait Sing's cantonment, on the east of the city, in which are located the Khas Dragoons, Colonel Ootar Sing's regiment, Sikhs, eight guns of Futteh Khan's, and, at a quarter of a mile distance, Colonel Ram Sahaie Sing's Hindostanee regiment. The two former were reported to be all ready for mischief; and it was said that the Sikh infantry had made an attempt on the guns, but had been warned off by Commander Futteh Khan. An order was, immediately, sent to Colonel Ram Sahaie Sing, to detach four companies to prevent the Sikhs taking these guns.

I sent an express to the Barukzye Sirdars and Urbobs, to attend, forthwith, at my residence, with all their disposable horse and foot.

As the night wore on, messengers returned from Soochait Sing's cantonment, who announced that all was now quiet, the Khas dragoons, and the Sikh infantry, having returned to their houses.

At day break, the Barukzye Sirdars arrived, with 160 horse and 700 foot, but few of the Urbobs' men had come.

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Ultimately, I determined on both camps being drawn near each other, and each compressed to the narrowest limits practicable; and our first parallel, about three quarters of a mile in advance of the (now) small interval between us, was commenced, yesterday, by 1,000 of Lieutenant Edwardes' men, and, at intervals of six hours, by 1,600 from my camp, the half thereof being, at night, from Her Majesty's 10th and 32nd foot; the only casualties reported are one man killed, and one wounded, both of the 72nd Native Infantry. As we could, thus, have no battery ready, and I knew the one armed with light guns, in Lieutenant Edwardes' camp, was annoyed by the enemy's gun, or guns, 1,200 yards in its front, I directed, last night, two of our eight inch howitzers to be sent thither, and went myself, this morning, to see them placed in position, and open fire. The first round of Shrapnells was fired simultaneously, and followed occasionally by rounds of common shell; and I have had the satisfaction of learning, this morning, by the Mooltan Ukhbar, the effects of the heavy howitzers, namely,—killed Oosman Ghunnee Khan (commander of 200 rohillas) and 10 men; wounded 25 men; deserted 80; and the enemy soon after withdrew their gun.

I have ordered these two heavy howitzers to an eligible position, on the parallels we are engaged on, opposite to a site the enemy seems to have selected for a battery.

Inclosure 7 in No. 38.

*John Lawrence, Esquire, Commissioner and Superintendent, Trans-Sutlej States,
to the Resident at Lahore.*

Dhurrumsal, September 9, 1848.

I HAVE, this day, heard that a body of men under Ram Sing have crossed the frontier from the Lahore, or Jummo, territory, and are plundering the country towards Shahpoor. I, also, understand that some chupprassees of the customs department have been wounded, and that others have been captured, and carried off, by the same gang.

I am about to start for Noorpoor myself, with 100 men of Major Ferris' corps. I have written to Major Hodgson, commanding the 1st regiment Sikh Local Infantry, to send a company of men to Puthankote, and have also directed Captain Davidson, with the head-quarters of the 16th irregulars, to march on the same place.

I have, further, written to Brigadier Wheeler, C. B., requesting that he will direct the officers commanding at Hajeepore, Mookerian, and Noorpoor, to assist me, if necessary. I will again address you, on my arrival at Noorpoor.

Inclosure 8 in No. 38.

*Brevet-Captain W. W. Davidson, Commanding 16th Irregular Cavalry, to the
Adjutant-General.*

Camp, Mookerian, September 9, 1848.

PURSUANT to the requisition of the civil authorities, I marched the head-quarters of the 16th Irregular Cavalry from Hoshiarpore, yesterday evening, and reached this place, at three of the morning of to-day.

I purpose marching again at midday to-day, and hope to reach Puthankote, (the seat of disturbance to be quelled) before nightfall.

Inclosure 9 in No. 38.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, September 9, 1848.

OUR working parties yesterday made good progress, and, at the village of Ramteerut, which was taken possession of on the 7th, we have now batteries of

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Inclosure 11 in No. 38.

Lieutenant Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, Byragee Gardens, before Mooltan,
September 10, 1848.*

PRESS of business has prevented me from sooner making an official report of the interview which I had with Sheik Emamooddeen, on the morning of the 8th of September. I now detail the very curious statements of the Sheik.

He said, that I must be fully aware that Raja Shere Sing's soldiers had long been in a disaffected state; but that, hitherto, the Sirdars had stood; that the Raja had, from the beginning, been active in suppressing the bad spirit, and volunteering to do service for the State; Sirdar Shumshere Sing, acquiescent in the Raja's arrangements; and Sirdar Ootar Sing, content so long as he was not called upon to fight; that there could be no doubt Sirdar Chuttur Sing had, two months ago, communicated to Raja Shere Sing (by the mouth of Soorutt Sing, Majeetia, who came down from Peshawur, and had an interview with Chuttur Sing, on the road) his intention to create disturbance, on his side the country, and injunction that his son should do the same to Mooltan; that Raja Shere Sing had, up to this time, steadily refused to share such projects, and severely reproached his father, but was now altering his mind; that Chuttur Sing's conduct depends entirely on whether, or no, he gets assistance from two quarters, viz., the Barukzye Sirdars in Peshawur, and Maharajah Golab Sing; that Chuttur Sing, some years ago, exchanged turbans with Sooltan Mahomed Khan, Barukzye, and has always maintained the strictest friendship with him; Chuttur Sing addressing Khwajah Mahomed Khan (Sooltan Mahomed Khan's eldest son) in his letters, as "My dear child!" and Khwajah Mahomed replying "My dearest father!" that the benefit promised to the Barukzye is a repossession of Peshawur; that Maharajah Golab Sing is not at all unlikely to instigate Chuttur Sing to ruin himself, for some secret project of his own; but will never give him an open assistance, or leave the smallest trace of having even interfered against the British; that the Mussulman troops in Peshawur may be relied upon, as also the artillery; and that Golab Sing, Povindea, is staunch in our interests; that the Eusufzye are not at all likely to join Chuttur Sing; and, thus, all things considered, that the Sirdar is not very likely to succeed in the Peshawur direction; in which case, he will take again to Hazara, if Maharajah Golab Sing holds out any hopes; and altogether, that the coming in of the Sirdar is more dependent on his getting no assistance from his two great allies, than on the good advice of Raja Deena Nath.

After these statements, I asked the Sheik to explain why he thought Raja Shere Sing's fidelity had been shaken, during the last day or two? He replied, that messengers had come from Chuttur Sing; and the Raja, after reading the letters, which were in Goormooke, had, carefully, put them into water, and obliterated all traces of the contents; and that his motbirs were beginning to open their mouths, and talk big, like other malcontents.

I then asked the Sheik, how, he thought, the Raja's force would act under these circumstances? He said, some would go over to Moolraj; but the majority would only refuse to fight, and encourage the enemy, by secret correspondence.

Scarcely had the Sheik left me than Sirdar Shumshere Sing sent me word, by a confidential servant, that, on the night of the 7th of September, the Sowars of the Charyarree Dera had held a meeting, at a garden, where their picket is, and sworn on the grunth to demand their arrears of pay (7 or 8 months) from Sirdar Ootar Sing, who would be unable to comply, when, they would ask for their discharge, and take themselves off, whithersoever they chose. This news was confirmed, during the 8th, by many people; and, as a small treasure party had gone to the ghat behind the Raja's camp, to bring away three lakhs of rupees from the steamer, I lost no time in informing the General, who sent out a strong support, and brought the treasure in, without any accident. On the morning of the 9th, Raja Shere Sing and Sirdar Ootar Sing, themselves called to report the mutinous meeting of the Charyarree Sowars; and I asked Ootar Sing, if they had

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I consider it my duty to keep fully informed) concurs in thinking that it would be a relief, if those who are ill disposed would go over at once, in order that we may know our enemies.

My feeling is, that I should like to decide the matter myself, instead of leaving things to run their course, by surrounding, and disarming, the Sikh Force, which I conceive present circumstances would, most fully, justify; but, unfortunately, they are in such a position that it is impossible to turn their flank, either right or left, and if I was to move straight down on their rear, they would, in self-defence, be driven into Mooltan.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to consider it a probable contingency that Moolraj's army will be swelled by two-thirds of Shere Sing's numbers; and, without, for an instant, permitting myself to doubt of the result, or to look on this large defection as more than additional difficulty, calling for additional exertion, I would, yet, respectfully venture to suggest that we should do well to neglect none of our resources.

Inclosure 12 in No. 38.

Major D. Simpson, Commanding at Hajepore, to the Adjutant-General.

Hajepore, September 10, 1848.

ON the urgent application of C. B. Saunders, Esq., assistant commissioner of the district, I have furnished a detachment from the 29th regiment Native Infantry, which marched, yesterday afternoon, under the command of Lieutenant Johnstone, in the direction of Khoh Gurh, there to join, and co-operate with, detachments of irregular cavalry, under the commands of Major Fisher and Captain Davidson, proceeding towards Puthankote, to quell a disturbance in that neighbourhood.

Inclosure 13 in No. 38.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Resident at Lahore.

Simla, September 11, 1848.

I HAD the honor to receive, by express, this morning at 6 A. M. your letter* of the 8th, with its several inclosures. The information contained in it does not at all surprise me; indeed, it is that which I have expected for some short time.

I quite feel that our officers on the north-western frontier are in a most critical position, and I would, if I could, at once, emancipate them, as I quite join you in the opinion that there is very little to be expected from Raja Deena Nath's mission; it may procrastinate, but it will not, in my mind, prevent a general rebellion in the north-west. To put down this rebellion, at once, would, assuredly, be most desirable, if it could be done with safety to other parts of the Punjab, without awaiting the Raja's negotiations.

I greatly admire the energetic measures which appear to have been taken by Major Lawrence, Captain Nicholson, and Lieutenant Herbert; they appear to me to bespeak sound judgment and great firmness, and I trust will be successful; they are, probably, not aware of the weakness of the force within the Sirhind division, or I doubt much their urging a premature forward movement.

It is true that, in a letter from the Governor-General, he says, "without waiting, therefore, for a council, I will take upon myself to request you to issue such orders as you may think necessary for insuring a support to the force now at Mooltan, in case it should need it, and for providing a defence against any outbreak, at any time, or anywhere, upon the frontier. It would be well to avoid the appearance of ostentatiously assembling a large force, lest we should alarm the Sikh army, already sufficiently nervous, as to the

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Inclosure 14 in No. 38.

C. B. Saunders, Esq., to J. Lawrence, Esq.

Shahpoor, September 11, 1848.

IN consequence of reports received from the thannadar of Hajeeporté, mentioning the fact of some chupprassees of the Customs' Department having been killed and wounded by some bodies of men who had collected in the neighbourhood of Puthankote and Noorpoor, I, immediately, waited on Captain Davidson, with a requisition for a body of the troops under his command to proceed for the relief of the above places, which were threatened with an attack from the rebels.

That officer, most readily, entered into my views, and ordered 40 troopers of the head-quarters of his regiment to proceed, immediately, in the direction of Puthankote, taking the command of them himself, with his Adjutant, Mr. Smith, in company. We made a forced march to Mookerian, which place we reached at 3 o'clock, A.M. on Saturday the 9th, having left Hoshiarpore on the previous afternoon.

On our arrival, we found that Major Fisher, of the 15th Irregulars, had also, in consequence of a requisition from Mr. Ross, the Customs' Patrol stationed at Puthankote, directed the march of a body of 60 sowars of his regiment towards Puthankote. In the course of the morning, in consequence of intelligence communicated by Major Simpson of the 29th Native Infantry, from Hajeeporté, I deemed it advisable, in conjunction with Major Fisher, to forward a requisition for a company of the 29th Native Infantry to join us at the fords of the Beas at Katgurh; Major Simpson complied most obligingly, and we were enabled to cross the whole detachment, during the course of the afternoon and night of the 9th of September. Early on the 10th, Major Fisher marched to Puthankote, where a halt was made for five or six hours, and at 3 o'clock, in consequence of intimation we had received, that the Fort of Shahpoor, in the Kangra District, situated about nine miles due north of Puthankote, was in possession of the rebels, the detachment again started for that place. Ladders were procured at Puthankote, for the purpose of escalading the above fort, if necessary. When we had proceeded about four or five miles from the latter place, we were given to understand that the occupants of the fort were making arrangements to evacuate it. Major Fisher, immediately, ordered the cavalry to proceed at a trot. When we approached Shahpoor, we perceived a number of men on the hill overlooking the fort, and a charge was, accordingly, made through the village, and up the hill side; the detachment of cavalry under Major Fisher and Captain Davidson quickly cleared the height, and, then, proceeded in the direction of the fort, which is well-built and strong, larger, and much more capable of resistance than Puthankote. On Major Fisher's party nearing the fort, a heavy fire of musketry was opened upon him, which was as warmly returned; two or three sowars of the 15th Irregulars were wounded, and two or three horses were killed, and one or two wounded. The fire, on both sides, was kept up, until it began to get dark, when Major Fisher moved his detachment to an open space to encamp for the night, the company of the 29th Infantry having by this time arrived. In the course of the night, we received intelligence that the rebels were making arrangements to evacuate the fort, and cross the Ravee, on which (at 12 o'clock at night) Major Fisher, immediately, ordered the whole detachment to proceed to storm the fort. Lieutenant Johnston led the attack with his company, supported by the Irregulars, and, after a short time, effected an entrance, a shot or two only having been fired from the fort. On entering, it appeared that the rebels must have evacuated it, and effected their escape, down a precipitous bye-path leading to the Ravee, which flows below the fort, at the depth of several hundred feet.

Major Fisher has forwarded a detailed account of the military operations connected with the storm and capture of the Fort to Brigadier Wheeler. I will not, therefore, dwell further on the subject than to state (though, perhaps, it might be presumptuous in me, as a civilian, to offer my opinion on such a subject), that nothing could have surpassed the zeal, courage, and activity that animated every individual in the detachment. We found two dead bodies of

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ment; who has forcibly stopped the public communications; has imprisoned the Government officials; and has directed the executive officers, in charge of districts and treasuries, to obey no orders but his, and send the revenues of the country to him.

Not a moment should be lost, in preparing for the extensive military operations which appear now inevitable.

It is just possible that the statement of troops from Jummoo having joined the Sirdar, may be a mistake, and that the Barukzye Sirdar may refuse his co-operation; in which case, the rebellion would not be as formidable. But if Maharajah Golab Sing has joined his fortunes to those of the rebel Sirdar (a thing one can hardly believe possible, notwithstanding the evidence), the struggle will be a severe one, for there will be many other parties concerned, who do not, at present, appear.

It is not impossible that many of the chiefs, who would have joined this movement, if headed by the Maharance, will stand aloof, now that it has been got up by the Sirdar Chuttur Sing; not because they hate the British troops less, but that they hate the Attareewallas, and Raja Golab Sing, more.

Inclosure 17 in No. 38.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, September 12, 1848.

MY intelligence of yesterday evening, from the north-west, is of anything but a pleasing character; and I cannot but fear that we are on the eve of a general Punjab war, for which every possible preparation should be made, without delay.

Raja Deena Nath writes, from Rotas, that he sees little prospect of being able to effect anything satisfactory with regard to this rebellion, into which Sirdar Chuttur Sing seems to have plunged, with a determination to sacrifice his life to the cause. The Raja says, that he has it, from four different sources, all, he thinks, credible, that one of Maharajah Golab Sing's regiments has already joined the Sirdar's son, Ootar Sing, at Dhangullee, with two guns, and that another is about to do so, when Ootar Sing will rejoin his father, at Rawul Pindee. I can hardly think this open disaffection, and breach of treaty, on the part of the Maharajah, possible; yet the fact is very positively stated, and is generally believed.

A very ugly looking insurrection is reported to have broken out, in the lower hills in the Kangra district, just beyond the Lahore frontier. The abandoned fort of Shahpoor has been occupied, and Puthankote and Noorpoor are threatened. This is the report from the Durbar frontier officers. I have, as yet, no letter from Mr. Lawrence on the subject.

The Peshawur force is showing symptoms of unsteadiness. An émeute was attempted by a part of two Sikh regiments, but was put down, for the time, by the promptitude and determination of Major Lawrence, and the good conduct of the officers and the Mussulman regiments.

I am informed, by the same authority which has given me very correct intelligence of coming events, hitherto, that, if much more delay takes place in the reduction of Mooltan, or if the Hazara rebellion makes head, there will, within a month, be an insurrection of the Malwa Sikhs in the direction of Kythul. I do not know upon what grounds this assertion is made; and the passage of troops to the frontier will, probably, check any purposed movement in that part.

The delay in the arrival of the siege train at Mooltan, and in the occupation of the place, is a great misfortune. It and the Hazara disturbance have given confidence to the adherents of Dewan Moolraj, and, within the last month, at least 3000 Sikhs, from the Manjha and other places, have joined him. These, though undisciplined and unorganized, and, therefore, useless in the field, are formidable, fighting behind walls and entrenchments. The city and citadel are both, Major Napier writes to me, stronger than any of our accounts represented. At his suggestion, I have, to-day, written to Sukkur, to have all the mortars that may be in store there, with ammunition and artillerymen, sent up, immediately, by steamers. I hope they may not be required, but Major Napier thinks the precaution advisable.

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adherence to the rebel's cause by the Maharajah, has not taken place: about 700 soldiers, from the Maharajah's territory, have joined Sirdar Chuttur Sing, but it is not distinctly stated that they are enlisted soldiers, or servants of the Maharajah; and, though it is not likely that his people would take other service, without his connivance, I shall probably have a khurrecta from him, complaining that his subjects have been seduced from their allegiance to him, and have deserted to Sirdar Chuttur Sing, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it.

Raja Deena Nath was, still, at Rotas, on the 10th, but it was positively stated that Sirdar Ootar Sing would meet him at Dumuk, on the following day. The Raja seemed to think that this meeting was intended, but he was not certain that treachery to himself might not be meditated. If he failed in his negotiations with Chuttur Sing, he proposed raising troops from the armed population of Dhunee and Pind Dadun Khan, and, by the route of the latter, joining Captain Nicholson, or Captain Abbott, and using all his arts and influence to detach the troops from the Sirdar. I have allowed him to do as he pleases; he seems desirous to do good service at this crisis; not that men in the Punjab are what they seem.

Sirdar Chuttur Sing is using all his endeavours, as Sheik Emamooddeen supposed he would, to induce the Barukzye Sirdars to join him; he had not succeeded on the 7th of the month; and, as he has so constantly declared that his is a purely religious movement, merely to rescue the supremacy of the Khalsa from the enemies of their faith, I do not see how the Barukzye Mahomedans can very consistently join him, or even the Hill Rajpoots take an open and declared part in a rebellion for that avowed object.

P. S.—It has just been reported to me, that a mule messenger arrived, last night, from Sirdar Chuttur Sing, with letters to Sirdar Golab Sing, and an urzee to the Durbar. These are written on the 5th instant, after his return from Attock, and renew the request that Raja Deena Nath, or Raja Tej Sing, may be sent out, to put down the rebellion; he has now added, “or Moolvee Rujub Ulee!” I send the Sirdar's letter to his son, which he sent me,—that, after having read it, you may give it to Raja Shere Sing. This mule rider was the bearer of other letters to Golab Sing, which he has not shown me.

Inclosure 20 in No. 38.

Mr. Lawrence to Brigadier Wheeler, C.B.

Noorpoor, September 13, 1848.

I ARRIVED at Noorpoor this morning at 5 A.M., in company with Mr. G. Barnes, the district officer, and Lieutenant Wallace, in command of about 150 men of the 2nd regiment of Sikh Local Infantry.

I understand from Captain Park, of the 29th Native Infantry, and from the reports of the native authorities, that the insurgents, under a man named Ram Sing, son of Shama Sing, vuzeer of Noorpoor, have taken up a position about a mile and a half south of Noorpoor, on a long and rather narrow hill, covered with brushwood and jungle. The spies, whom I have examined, say that he has not above 200 or 250 men with him, who are armed with matchlocks and swords; that he occupies the ground close to a tank, for the sake of water; that he has some supplies, and is able to procure more from some villages south of his locality, with the inhabitants of which he has influence.

I understand, from the description given by those well acquainted with the localities of the position, that, to destroy, or seize, this body of insurgents, four detachments would be necessary, to occupy the four different roads which lead to the ground which Ram Sing holds, and none should be less than 100 men. They say that, if attacked by any one line alone, he can easily effect a retreat, and occupy some other strong position. I may further add, that it would appear to me that neither guns nor cavalry are required, but only infantry. I have sent out spies to gather information, and will again communicate with you, to-morrow, on the subject. It will be a great object to attack the insurgents, as soon as possible. Opinion here seems to be divided, as to whether his band will disperse,

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was, by all, considered ample: the chief engineer gave me his professional opinion that the reduction of the place was feasible, under the circumstances supposed, with the aid of a much smaller force.

This opinion was formed by Major Napier, after two months of the most constant, and searching, inquiries into the nature, and extent, of the fortifications, and after the preparation of plans, from the most accurate information attainable, by himself, and Major Becher of the Quarter-Master General's department.

I was aware, when I ordered the movement of the force and train, that the utmost expedition was necessary, in carrying the operations to a successful conclusion, as the only means of preventing a general insurrection in the Punjab.

The delay which occurred in the despatch of the force, after I had ordered it, and in the arrival of the siege guns, is much to be deplored.

Doubtless, as stated by Major Napier, a very great change has taken place, within the last two months, in the constitution of the rebel force, garrisoning the city and citadel, as well as in its numbers: this is owing to the rebellion of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and (as it is stated, I fear, with justice) to the machinations of the arch traitor, Raja Shere Sing.

I trust that reinforcements will be pushed on, with all expedition. I shall, to-day, address the Governments of Bombay and Sind, that every exertion may be made by them, pending the orders of the Government of India, for sending troops to Mooltan.

The express reached me between 9 and 10 o'clock last night. I, immediately, requested Brigadier Campbell, C.B. to come to me, when I arranged with him for having Her Majesty's 53rd regiment under arms at gun-fire, that I might, with the Brigadier, take possession of the citadel, and the property of the State, and place under arrest Sirdar Golab Sing, and the other Sirdars most notoriously supposed to be implicated in this treachery.

I have been, all the morning, thus employed. I have made efficient arrangements for the security of the person of the Maharajah, and of the state jewels and property, and I have placed under arrest, in charge of British sentries, Sirdars Golab Sing, Attareewalla; Nar Sing, Attareewalla; Bishen Sing, and Jhunda Sing, Batooleah.

Inclosure 25 in No. 38.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, September 14, 1848.

THE circumstances of this morning induce me to begin a letter, that gives me much pain, by observing that, on the 9th instant, the chief engineer expressed his opinion that the force under my command was inadequate for the reduction of the town, and fortress, of Mooltan. In this, I entirely differed with him. On the 11th instant, when talking of Shere Sing's force to Lieutenant Edwardes, and of the expediency of getting rid of it, he said, he would try and so arrange, and, yesterday, reported that, after a long discussion, it was settled that one Sikh division should go to Toolumbah, to patrol the road, and all others to Kur-rumpore.

In the evening, at the request of Major Napier, (who, I regret to say, has been wounded, by the graze of a cannon-ball, in the leg) I met Lieutenant Edwardes at his tent, when it was, again, urged that our force was inadequate to prosecute the siege which I was exceedingly averse to acquiesce in, seeing that the troops were in high health and spirits, that our sick and wounded did not exceed six per cent., and that our artillery had not yet seriously opened their fire; but, on my return from our advanced posts at 8 o'clock this morning, I was surprised by a message from Lieutenant Edwardes, to the effect that Shere Sing, at the head of his whole force, was in full march to join the enemy.

I met that officer, shortly after, again, at Major Napier's tent, the officer commanding the artillery being present, as also the officers of the Quarter-Master-General's department; and I requested the attendance of Colonel Franks, who was near at hand. Having explained the circumstances above-mentioned, and noticed that the last accounts from the Resident mentioned Chuttur Sing's being in open rebellion, it was the unanimous opinion that the

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Inclosure 27 in No. 38.

Major Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, before Mooltan, September 14, 1848,

THE question of the intentions of the Sikh force under Raja Shere Sing, has, this morning, been settled, by the camp moving, bodily, off to Mooltan, and joining the rebels, the Raja putting himself at the head of the movement, and ordering the "Dhurum Ka Dhosa," or religious drum, to be beaten, in the name of the Khalsa.

My private notes have already informed you that the Sikh camp had arrived at so dangerous a pitch of insubordination to the Sirdars (and above all to the Raja, who acted his part so well as to be reviled as a Mussulman, up to the last moment, by the Sikhs of his own camp), that I considered it my duty, three days ago, to take the instructions of Major-General Whish concerning them.

It being impossible to turn the flank of the Raja's position, between two nullahs, and close to Mooltan in front, there was no hope of disarming the Sikh force, and the only alternative which remained was, to induce them, if possible, to withdraw towards the capital, where the strength of the British army would render them harmless. The General, therefore, concurred with me, that the only thing to be done was, to direct the Sirdars to march.

I, then, sent for the three Sirdars, and informed them of the General's wishes. None of them liked the idea of encountering, as they said, the sneers of their enemies in the Durbar, at the failure of their attempts to keep a Sikh force to their duty. They also said, that many of their men would not obey an order to march. I asked them, if they staid here, at Mooltan, would they be answerable for the same men not going over to the enemy? They said, "No; it is very certain, if we remain here, the whole force will go over, gradually; there is no dependence on any one of them." Then, I said, it was better to make an effort to save them, and give the well-disposed, at all events, an opportunity of escaping. Sirdars Ootar Sing and Shumshere Sing agreed in this view of the question; but Raja Shere Sing warmly expostulated at his division (chiefly of Mussulmans) being sent away, when they were ready to give their lives in the cause of the Maharajah. General Cortlandt also had a good opinion of the Poorbeah regular regiment in the Raja's division; and as Major Napier, chief engineer, was, already, of opinion that we had not men enough to prosecute the siege of Mooltan, I agreed to the Raja remaining behind. It was, then, settled, with the full consent and approval of the three Sirdars, that Sirdar Ootar Sing's division should be ordered to Toolumbah, under pretence of keeping open the road, and stopping the influx of recruits; Sirdar Shumshere Sing's division to Kurrumpore, for the same purpose; and Rajah Shere Sing's to take up a position to cover, and protect, the ferry. This morning was fixed for the march.

Last night, Sirdars Ootar Sing and Shumshere Sing came to take their leave, and both, separately, had interviews, in which, after begging for letters to the Resident, exculpating them from blame, and expressing a belief that the majority of their men would march with them, they both took occasion to speak disparagingly of the Raja; Sirdar Ootar Sing asking, how long I thought the three or four hundred Sikhs of the Raja's division would remain faithful to their duty; and Shumshere Sing warning me, in plainer language, that, before three days elapsed, the Raja's Sikhs would be off, to join Chuttur Sing.

I believed this to be spleen at the Raja remaining behind, and thought it was rather in the Raja's favor than otherwise; but, immediately after the departure of the Sirdars, Sheik Emamooddeen came, and positively declared that the Raja had, at last, thrown off the mask, assembled his officers, and taken their oaths to stand by him, in rebellion. In this, he was said to be advised by Soorutt Sing, Majectia, the same person as was reported to have, upwards of two months ago, brought the injunctions of Chuttur Sing to the Raja to rebel. Sheik Emamooddeen belongs to the party in the State opposed to the Attareewallas, and I was still loth to believe his report, nor (by this morning's denouement) do I think the matter was decided, for it is acknowledged that the three Sirdars tried to move off, and lead their camp, in the right direction, but were surrounded by fanatic orators, who roundly abused them, for deserting the cause of their religion, and stirred up the passions of the Sikh soldiers, till opposition to their will was

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disposed to join Moolraj, he determined on taking that step ; having, probably, settled, with the said troops, and the smaller Sirdars in his interest, that they should take the other chiefs with them, by force. The other superior chiefs do not appear to have been previously cognizant of the Raja's intentions. Sirdars Shumshere Sing and Ootar Sing, when they visited Lieutenant Edwardes, were, certainly, I think, not so.

Sirdar Ootar Sing made his escape from the army, as it appears, and joined Lieutenant Edwardes' camp, with a few horsemen, (his son, Lal Sing, having been carried off by the troops). Kehur Sing, the nephew of Sirdar Shumshere Sing, did the same, with all his own horsemen; Kirpal Sing, Mulwae (an intimate friend of Sheik Emamooddeen's) did the same; and, afterwards, in the middle of the day, Shere Daol Sing, son of Futteh Sing Man, escaped, and took refuge in Lieutenant Edwardes' camp, also. The Toshakanah, and all the property of Sirdar Shumshere Sing were brought to Lieutenant Edwardes' camp, by some of the Sirdar's followers, who reported that he himself had endeavoured to escape, but had been carried off by force, to Mooltan. These particulars are learnt from an urzee sent to me by Sheik Emamooddeen, on the evening of the 14th.

From the above, it would seem that the move to Mooltan was not premeditated by the Sirdars generally, and, from their reception, it seems that they were not expected by Moolraj.

I have no intelligence to-day from Mooltan. I doubt not that many of the Jagheerdars, who are at feud with the Attarec family, will desert from the rebels ; but it is to be feared, that the insurgents will be joined by nearly all the the army, and the military population.

The promptest measures are necessary—five thousand men would effect more, at the present moment, than nearly four times that number, two months hence.

Inclosure 29 in No. 38.

Rajah Shere Sing to Sirdar Golab Sing.

TO my dear brother Golab Sing. After professions of affection.—You have frequently written to me to remain firm in my fidelity to Captain Edwardes, and to act, in all things, according to his instructions. I have in no wise deviated from this counsel. The Sing Sahib (Sirdar Chuttur Sing) has, several times, written to me, stating that he constantly obeyed Captain Abbott's directions ; but that that officer, acting according to the suggestions of the people of Hazara, has treated him most unjustly, and caused him much grief and trouble ; and that he has also exerted himself to destroy and disperse the Khalsa troops. The Sing Sahib writes to me, that I had nothing to do with the treaty made with the English ; and that, if I wish to preserve my existence, and the religion of our country, I must act accordingly, and join him.

Hitherto, Captain Edwardes has treated me with great kindness ; but, within the last week, his feelings towards me have changed. I resolved, therefore, yesterday, to join the Sing Sahib, and devote myself to the cause of our religion.

If you have any regard to the directions of the Sing Sahib, or my advice, prepare, immediately, on the receipt of this, to join the Sing Sahib, or to go to Jummo, or any other place you may think fit. If you disregard my advice, act as you please ; but remember, that it is incumbent upon sons to obey the instructions of their father, for life is short.

Do not wait for another letter.

God is between us. If we live we shall meet ; if not, God wills it.

Inclosed in the preceding.

The matter is this.—I shall enter the Fort of Mooltan, with my troops, on 1st Asooj (14th of September). If you are with me and the Sing Sahib, make your escape as you best can ; if you are not with us, act as you think fit.

It is useless to write more ; make arrangements regarding our family, as the Sing Sahib has directed you. Delay not an instant.

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cause but that of Maharajah Duleep Sing. The oaths so freely taken did not remove Moolraj's suspicions; and, after the interview, he withdrew all his own troops from the entrenchments in front of the British army, and told Raja Shere Sing to relieve them,—so low has fallen the brother-in-law of the Maharajah.

The Raja seems to have applied himself, at once, to organizing revolution throughout the country, and Shumshere Sing told me that he had forced him (Shumshere Sing) to set his seal to two documents calling on parties to join the rebel standard. Shumshere Sing, further, warned me to be on the look out for letters from the Rajah to Sheik Enamooddeen, and all the regular regiments in my camp; and, many hours had not elapsed, before the Sheik brought me one which he had received, and which I append to this letter. It states that the Raja, in compliance with the commands of Maharajah Duleep Sing, had joined that well-meaning and faithful servant, Dewan Moolraj, in Mooltan, and is busily engaged in the work of re-establishing the state and religion, and expelling enemies, a work in which the Sheik is called upon to join. For the present, the aspect of affairs is not bad enough to render the Sheik's fidelity doubtful; and his hatred of Maharajah Golab Sing, and the Attarce party, who side with him, exceeds, if possible, that which he bears to the Sikh race generally, which he is fond of characterizing as "filthy!"

Almost immediately afterwards, Colonel Buelree Nath, who commands General Cortlandt's Kuthar Mookhee regiment, brought me a similar letter, addressed to himself, and his officers, by Raja Shere Sing. Both these letters have the advantage of assuring us that not only the Raja, but his father, is in open rebellion.

I have no fear of the Raja being able to seduce any of General Cortlandt's troops from their allegiance; but as Sheik Enamooddeen had two guns belonging to the same troop as the four which were with Sirdar Ootar Sing and Shumshere Sing, and which went over with the Raja to Mooltan, I, this morning, sent for the Sheik, and asked him, what dependence he could place on the artillerymen? He replied, "Just this much, that I have, for the last week, told off 300 men to do nothing but watch the guns, and cut down the artillerymen, on the slightest sign of mutiny." This being the case, I thought no time was to be lost, and directed the Sheik to seize the guns, and confine all the artillerymen; which he promptly did. I have sent the men under a guard to Lahore, and beg to explain that, though they are suspected of behaving ill at Suddoosain on the 1st of July, I have, now, turned them out merely as a prudential measure.

While I am writing, other letters have come from the Raja to Sirkaree troops in this camp, and one to General Cortlandt, bearing the seals of several Sirdars, and officers, who are along with Raja Shere Sing. I append them all.

Agreeably to the orders of the Major-General commanding the field force, my own and Bahawul Khan's force, yesterday, changed ground to Sooraj Koond. The movement was executed, most deliberately, for we had little, or no carriage, and our camels, &c., had to perform three journeys, before all the stores and munitions were removed; but I was resolved not to leave one cannon-ball, or handful of meal, to the enemy; and our whole line remained, cheerfully, under arms, from sunrise till 2 P.M. to cover the operations. Only once, did the enemy try to turn our flank and get at the baggage, with about 1000 horsemen of our late faithful ally, Raja Shere Sing Attareewalla, but General Cortlandt opened his guns upon them, and put them, instantly, to a disorderly flight.

The British force followed us, this morning, and is now encamped on the very ground where the battle of Suddoosain was fought.

This move secures, as you will perceive, the ferry communication with the Leia districts, and the countries beyond the Indus, also with Sind and Bombay, from whence alone, in the present state of the Punjab, it is probable that troops can be spared; and lastly, the communication with Bahawulpore, Ferozepore, and so with Lahore. Some were of opinion that Sirdarpore would have been a better position, as commanding the shortest road to Lahore; but it was generally agreed, that a round-about communication with the capital was preferable, if it combined communication with Sind, Bombay, and Ferozepore.

P. S.—I have thought it right to request Lieutenant R. G. Taylor to withdraw from Dera Ismael Khan, along with the family of General Cortlandt, as he can be of little use after what has occurred, and his seizure by the Bunnoc troops would be a calamity in every way.

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about 4,200; but, consequent to reinforcements by Chuttur Sing and Golab Sing of Cashmere, I have reason to believe it is about 5,000 now, notwithstanding nearly 3,000 went off, on the 14th, to Jhung and Lahore, with three guns, when the remainder, under Shere Sing, publicly took up the cause of the rebel Dewan.

Inclosure 34 in No. 38.

Major Napier to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, near Mooltan, September 19, 1848.

THE attack on the City of Mooltan, which was commenced on the 7th instant, was discontinued on the 14th, in consequence of the great accession of strength which the enemy gained during the operations, and, finally, by the defection of the Raja Shere Sing and his associated Sirdars.

It was found impossible to continue the operations, and, at the same time, to protect the siege train, and cover our line of communications, for our whole force was engaged in guarding our camp, and in manning the trenches, whilst the Raja's cavalry and guns were available to move on any points to our rear, from which we drew our supplies. The attack was, therefore, withdrawn.

The transfer of the Raja to the ranks of the enemy, laid open the Ghat of the Chenab, and the road to Shoojabad, and obliged Lieutenant Edwardes to return to his old camp of Sooraj Koond, instead of taking up a position, on the left of our camp, at Seetul-ke-Maree, which was impracticable from want of water.

As the country towards Sirdarpore is in the hands of the Raja Shere Sing's people, no assistance, in the way of supplies, can be looked to, from that frontier.

It appears to me absolutely necessary for the British force to have a depôt for the siege train, and I have suggested Shoojabad as a fit place, and have, with the General's permission, sent an engineer officer to put it in order for the purpose.

As soon as our force is emancipated from the encumbrance of the siege train, it may act in the field; at present, it can only act on the defensive.

The forces of the Dewan Moolraj were found to be excellent defenders of strong ground, and skirmishers, though unable, for a moment, to resist our troops in the field; and their numbers are, by all accounts, said to amount to, at least, 15,000 men, including the Raja's troops.

It is not easy, at present, to foresee what numbers of the enemy may be assembled, by the time reinforcements arrive to enable us to renew operations against the fortress. You will, perhaps, be better able to judge at Lahore what accessions to his numbers may be expected; but I believe that the army, originally destined by the Government for the reduction of Mooltan, will certainly be required here, and the sooner it arrives the better.

The enemy is, at present, occupied in increasing his entrenchments, and sending out parties to occupy the country towards Sirdarpore and Toolumbah. In the course of a few days, we shall, I believe, have moved our camp to a position in which we shall have a good opportunity of striking a decisive blow at him, should his increasing numbers encourage him to move out into the field; but it is most probable that he will wait for reinforcements, before acting on the offensive.

Inclosure 35 in No. 38.

The Resident at Lahore to Brigadier Campbell, C.B.

Lahore, September 19, 1848.

I FORWARD two letters from Mr. J. Lawrence, the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Jullundur Deab, dated the 14th and 16th instant, relative to a disturbance which has taken place on the frontier of the Kangra district, and the measures adopted by him, successfully, for its suppression.

I would suggest that Mr. Lawrence's proposition regarding sending the wing of a regiment to Kangra, and strengthening the Fort at Noorpoor, be complied

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vicinity of the town, and that he had perpetrated several dacoities. He seems to have written circular letters to the head-men of villages, and invited them to join him; few, however, have accepted his offer. I annex a copy of a letter, of yesterday's date, to the address of Brigadier Wheeler, giving him all the information I had then collected, regarding the insurgents.

The native authorities in Noorpoor appear to have been very active. Goorbhaj and Teyka, father and son, influential chowdrees of Indoura, had, on the requisition of the Tehsildar, collected a number of their friends, and, with the aid of the customs' peons, who had been forced to abandon their posts, secured Puthankote from attack. The chowdrees and their men, subsequently, proceeded to Noorpoor, and, in company with Soocheit Sing, another titular vuzeer of the ex-Raja's, who has great influence in these parts, aided the police, and revenue authorities, in keeping the peace. I consider that these individuals deserve much credit for their exertions, which, with the judicious arrangements of Captain Park commanding at Noorpoor, have, probably, saved this important place from plunder.

Ram Sing is still on the hill, described in my letter to Brigadier Wheeler, C.B. commanding the Jullundur Doab. We reconnoitred the position this morning, and though it is strong, all the officers present concur in thinking that, with 300 or 400 infantry, we could destroy, or capture the party. It is difficult to get authentic intelligence regarding the exact number on the hill, for the only people who can, safely, venture up there, are friends of the insurgents, who, of course, will not give true information. Ram Sing has been very cautious in his movements since my arrival, and, now that Major Fisher, with his force, has joined, will, I am afraid, attempt to escape. The country round this town, and the vicinity, which he will, probably, not leave, except he decamps altogether across the Ravee, for it is here where his influence alone lies, is extremely strong. The whole surface consists of rugged hills, more or less covered with trees and brushwood, intersected with strong valleys, cut up in all directions by mountain torrents; on this side of the hill, which the insurgents occupy, is the native village of Ram Sing, some of the people of which, have joined him. He might take up much stronger positions at no great distance, and the object, therefore, is to prevent his escape, until sufficient force can arrive to enable us to attack him.

Through the influential chowdrees and head-men of villages, we are now collecting about 800 men, with whom we hope to occupy the passages leading to the position, while our own force secures the villages of Bussa and Juch, on the south and south-west. The advantage of this movement will be, to restrain the insurgents within narrow limits, to give confidence and security to the villages, and, probably, prevent their escape. If Brigadier Wheeler authorizes the march of the five companies at Hajeepore, the affair would, I think, be settled in a day. Ram Sing is not popular in the country. He has many more enemies, apparently, than friends. At any rate, the people appear to be peaceably disposed, and not inclined to join him.

Should the state of affairs require the march of a considerable portion of the troops, now in the Jullundur Doab, towards Lahore, I consider that they may be removed, without any danger. Tranquillity and security at Lahore, and in the Baree Doab, will have the best effects on the people, in this territory also. But I strongly recommend that a wing of a native infantry regiment be at once ordered to Kangra, to garrison the fort, and another wing be sent to Noorpoor. I should then have Major Ferris' corps, as a moveable force, at my disposal, to march on any point where troops should be required. At present, I had to weaken the garrison of Kangra to a very considerable extent, before I could dispatch Lieutenant Wallace to Noorpoor.

With a native infantry corps divided between the two forts of Kangra and Noorpoor, and the Sikh corps at my disposal, I think there would be no fear of any commotion in the hills; at any rate, none that we could not suppress. As matters are at present, they are not sufficiently protected.

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other officers of the party, wisely restrained their men to merely firing a volley or two, when, we returned to Noorpoor. The worst that I apprehend is, that the insurgents should take the alarm, and retreat to a position more difficult of access.

Inclosure 39 in No. 38.

Mr. Lawrence to the Secretary to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Noorpoor, September 19, 1848.

WITH reference to the news from Mooltan, I think it more than ever necessary to garrison the fort of Kangra, and to strengthen Noorpoor. I have the greatest confidence in both the Sikh local corps here, but they are required to move about the country, and put down any attempt at insurrection, before it gathers head.

I had been at Noorpoor six days, before I could get together a sufficient body of men to attack Ram Sing, who was within a mile and a half of the fort. During this period, he rendered the high roads unsafe, seized, and tortured the head-men of villages, and forced people to join him. The night before last, he burnt a number of houses in the village of Ghuntul, nine miles from this, and, the next day, was joined by twenty matchlocks from the ce. Such is the nature of the country, and the difficulty of the fastnesses, that it was impossible, except by attacking him, to prevent such excursions.

I have the pleasure to state, that we attacked Ram Sing, in his position, this morning at daybreak, on five sides; we dispersed his force, killing and wounding twenty-five to thirty men. The men of the Sikh local corps behaved extremely well, evincing the greatest ardor and spirit.

Owing to the denseness of the jungle, we did not seize Ram Sing, but hope to give a good account of him, hereafter.

Inclosure 40 in No. 38.

Major Hodgson to Mr. Lawrence.

Camp, Noorpoor, September 19, 1848.

AGREEABLY to the general tenor of your instructions, I proceeded this morning at 3 A.M. with the head-quarters' detachment of the 1st regiment of Sikh Local Infantry, consisting of 250 rank and file, to attack and dislodge a party of rebels, assembled under a person named Ram Sing, and who had taken position in the neighbourhood, and occupied the village of Bassa, on the top of a high hill. On arriving at the foot of the hill, I halted the detachment until the dawn, when, I advanced up the ascent, covered by skirmishers. On approaching the village, by a gradual ascent, which became steeper on the top, the rebels challenged, and fired a volley on the party. After going a few more yards in advance, this was returned, and the detachment pushed on smartly, and carried the village of Bassa, and another in its immediate vicinity.

The village I directed to be fired, and thereby destroyed a considerable quantity of supplies, two magazines, and various other property collected by the rebels. Two native British subjects, confined by the enemy, were released, and some mules, formerly captured, belonging to Government, were recovered, and made over to the Commissariat Agent. The dislodged enemy amounting to, I should say, about 100 men, then retired firing, further up the mountain, closely pursued. Having reached the crest, they were joined by others, and attempted to make a fresh stand, but were quickly routed, and chased down both sides of the hill, dispersing singly in all directions. From the extreme density of the cover, it was quite impossible to fire with any great precision, but six dead bodies of the enemy were counted, and I have no doubt that they suffered more severely, though, from the rapid advance of the detachment, I had no means of ascertaining, as it did not return by the same route.

As a pursuit of single stragglers, through a particularly dense, and extensive,

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jungle, which in parts is so dense, I understand, from the officers who went up, that fifty men might lie concealed.

I annex a letter from Major Hodgson, commanding the 1st regiment of Sikh Local Infantry, describing the part his corps took in the affair.

We had about 360 men of the 1st Sikh regiment under Major Hodgson, of whom 300 attacked on one side; two companies of the 29th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Johnston, who went up on another; Captain Rind, of the 71st Native Infantry, with four companies, equal to about 240 bayonets; and Lieutenant Wallace, with 150 men of the Kangra Regiment, made a long circle, and, mounting the eastern extremity of the hill, got possession of the heights; Major Fisher of the 15th Irregulars, who assumed command of the whole force, assisted by a party of his own corps, the 16th, guarded the southern and western sides of the hill, where cavalry could act; while Mr. G. Barnes, the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, and I, surmounted the ravines on the other two sides, with upwards of 400 Rajpoots, of whom the Rajas of Mundee and Chumba had sent me 200, and the remainder were collected from the villages of the Noorpoor district. Our whole loss is one sepoy killed, and nine wounded, all of the 29th Native Infantry, and 1st regiment Sikh Infantry.

I have much reason to be satisfied with the way in which Major Fisher, and the officers commanding the different detachments, have behaved; and to Mr. G. Barnes I am especially indebted, for the energy and zeal with which he has aided me, in suppressing this disturbance.

I avail myself of this opportunity to add, that last night a Chokeydar came in, from a village on the Ravee opposite Bussowlee, and reported that he was sent by the head-men to say, that a body of 300 armed men had assembled on the right bank, and insisted on crossing to join Ram Sing, who had promised them 8 rupees a month. They called themselves discharged soldiers from Maharajah Golab Sing's army. The villagers are watching them, and I have sent out the Maharajah's vakeel to the spot, to incite His Highness' servants at Bussowlee to seize them. I have, also, sent out spies in all directions to gain information, and, if I find it to be correct, I shall move a force, at once, to the banks of the Ravee, and hope to give a good account of all disturbers of the peace. It is right that I also state, that the Jummoo vakeel assures me, that such an assemblage of discharged soldiers as that now reported, is not the case; and that, he believes, the story must have arisen from his master having sent troops down to secure order, and arrest dangerous characters.

Inclosure 43 in No. 38.

Mr. Lawrence to the Secretary to the Resident at Lahore.

Noorpoor, September 22, 1848.

THE dispersion of Ram Sing and his followers appears to be complete.

The day before yesterday, I went over the hill on which they had taken up their position, and found it, in many cases, not accessible to troops, except by narrow footpaths. In the evening, I received information that Ram Sing, with five men, had been seen in a wood, some eight or nine miles off. I, at once, sent off a party after him, who were out all night. It appeared that he had only left the place an hour before their arrival. I have now reason to believe that he has crossed the Beas, and gone towards Seeba, north of Hoshiarpore, where there are extensive jungles, though others seem to think that he has taken refuge in Hurripore. I have sent off a party of the hill rangers, in the hope of seizing him.

My spies from beyond the Ravee have returned, and say that the Jummoo authorities have established posts along the right bank, to prevent the passage of dangerous characters, and to preserve tranquillity. The disbanded soldiery, on the news of Ram Sing's defeat, which I circulated, in every direction, by letters to the heads of villages, written in the Hill dialect, have all dispersed. I do not know that there were so many as was, at first, reported, but there can be no doubt that there were some collected, and ready to cross.

If Maharajah Golab Sing could be prevailed on to discontinue the disbandment of his surplus soldiery, at the present crisis, it would conduce to the public

tranquillity. At any rate, it would not appear unreasonable that His Highness should, in some measure, be responsible for such characters not collecting in bodies within the Mithunyah's territories, and joining malcontents in arms against the British power.

I have directed Major Hodgson, with the 1st regiment of Sikh Local Infantry, to return to Hoshiarpore. With Major Fisher and the cavalry, I propose marching two days hence to Puthankote, where I shall post a company of the Sikh corps and some Sowars, to secure that place, and to strengthen the police, and the four companies of the 71st Native Infantry I shall leave here, until I hear from you, regarding the substitution of regular infantry for the hill corps now in Kangra and the reinforcement of the garrison of Noorpoor.

Inclosure 44 in No 38

The Secretary to the Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India

Lahore, September 25, 1848
I AM directed to forward dispatches from the Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States reporting the suppression of the disturbance in Noorpoor. The Chief Commissioner has much satisfaction in bringing to favorable notice the excellent conduct of the officers and men employed on this occasion.

Inclosure 45 in No 38

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India

Lahore, September 21, 1848
I FORWARD a correspondence relative to the occupation of the fortress of Govindgurh at Umritsur by a British garrison. It is, I have been all along, since the outbreak at Mooltan in April last, most desirous that that fort should be in the possession of the British troops. It is as the Government we were a most important post with reference to its position in the direct line of our communications between Lahore and the British provinces in the centre of the Manjha the district in which the Sikhs abound, and commanding completely, the town of Umritsur which is more populous than Lahore itself and also from the prestige attached by the Sikhs to the possession of this fort which they consider as the key of the Punjab, and look upon with reverence as the work to which Maharajah Runjeet Singh devoted so much attention, and treasure, during the latter years of his reign.

Besides the positive value of its occupation by us for the reasons given above, the preventing its being occupied by insurgents, or disaffected parties, is a most important matter. If the disaffected of the Manjha could have secured the fort of Govindgurh is a rallying point at this time the whole of the Buice Doab would most probably, rise and our communication with the provinces in our rear would become very difficult, and, without a regular siege we could not have got possession of the fort. Yet, we must have possessed ourselves of it as we could, with safety, advance towards the north west.

I know that the Governor-General in Council is fully impressed with the expediency of our occupying Govindgurh, but with a jealous Sikh garrison, who had only to keep their gates shut to defy us, and who are not the slightest for the Durbar orders, getting possession was a delicate operation, while an unsuccessful attempt would be disastrous. This consideration has, hitherto, induced the Government and the Resident to let things remain as long as all went on well.

Under the present circumstances the occupation of Govindgurh became more than ever desirable, and, in my mind, almost necessary. And this was the feeling of the few real well wishers we have in the Punjab. I am sure that the Governor General in Council will appreciate Mr Cocks' judicious execution of the duty entrusted to him, in which he received much assistance from Mr J Inghs.

I feel much indebted to Brigadier Campbell, C.B., for the hearty interest he took in the success of the operation, and for the judicious arrangements he made for securing it, by promptitude, and secrecy.

The Brigadier left me at 11 o'clock A.M. on Tuesday; and, with my instructions, at 7 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the fort was in our possession, and the Sikh garrison outside the walls; and, by 11 o'clock, the regiment of infantry, which was only taken off its duty in the city of Lahore the afternoon before, marched into Govindgurh in perfect order, only two Sepoys being in the rear. The regiment arrived in sight of Govindgurh at 8 o'clock; but, learning, from a messenger sent by Mr. Cocks, that our people were in full possession, and the Sikh garrison out, Colonel Mac Sherry halted, and rested his men, for a couple of hours, and marched them in, quite fresh, and cheerful, at 11 o'clock. The distance from Anarkullee is about thirty-five miles.

Inclosure 46 in No. 38.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Lahore, September 24, 1848:

THE intelligence received from Mooltan, since the date of my letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the 8th instant*, has so altered the aspect of affairs, that my proposition,—for the troops ordered to Ferozepore being allowed to come on, and form the army at Lahore, to be ready to move on, immediately, to the north-west,—could not, of course, be entertained.

The first thing, now, must be, to push on our reinforcements to Mooltan.

The force sent from this was generally considered to be larger than was required. I am satisfied that its failure was never, for a moment, anticipated by any one, if the troops arrived at Mooltan, in an effective state. The chief engineer gave his professional opinion that a smaller force would suffice, and he considered failure impossible; and it is certain that, in the season 1845-6, Sir C. Napier, with a smaller force, and with not much more than a quarter of the amount of siege artillery, calculated, after, as he conceived, full investigation, that the reduction of the place would not have delayed his progress towards Lahore, many days. At that time, Moolraj was in the zenith of his power, and his army on a war establishment; whereas, before this outbreak, he had discharged almost all his regular troops, preparatory to resigning his government; and his present army is composed of new levies.

That the Commander-in-Chief was satisfied of the sufficiency of the force, fixed by General Whish, on the scale laid down by his Excellency, for the duty required of it; and that his apprehension was, on account of the season of the year alone; his Excellency has declared, in a letter to your Lordship, in which is the following sentence:—

“Unacquainted, as yet, with the political necessity for the immediate movement of this force, yet, as it is to comprise that detailed in my letter of the 1st instant†, to the address of your Lordship in Council, I do not feel justified in interfering, as neither the character of the army, nor the safety of that portion of it which will be employed, can be compromised, otherwise than by the loss of life, which the season of the year may occasion, and which, it appears, will be guarded against as much as possible.”

The troops have, in no way, suffered, on account of the season, but have, in fact, been more healthy and effective than the corps in any of the cantonments. When operations were suspended, the wounded and sick averaged only six per cent. of the force.

It is, moreover, quite evident, that the General commanding deemed his force ample for the service on which it was to be employed, and he had the best possible opportunities of judging, for the whole force assembled at Mooltan, within sight of the works, full sixteen days before the guns arrived; during that period, Major-General Whish, C.B., an officer belonging to one of the scientific branches of the service, had an opportunity of reconnoitring the works, obtaining every information regarding them, the number and position of his opponents,

* Inclosure 44 in No. 36.

† Inclosure 11 in No. 32.

BRIEF HISTORY OF ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

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The extraordinary precision and zealous care with which the primordial tradition at least from the Vedas downwards has come down to our day fills scholars with amazement. The earliest traces of this remarkable tradition from which Hinduism has drawn its life blood can be plausibly shown to confirm the primitive revelation recorded in Genesis. Archaeological excavations in the Indus Valley and the Punjab seem to point to the fifth millennium B. C. as the period when the foundations of the Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean civilization were laid on which in India the Hindu culture was basically reared and of which Hinduism still persists as the most vigorous and conservative specimen.

The pictographic writings of a Proto-Indic civilization which spread over a part of India in the fourth millennium are lately claimed to have been decyphered and checked and discovered to be in homogenous continuity with what goes under the name of orthodox Hinduism six thousand years later.¹ According to this interpretation which is still

¹ H. Hems, S. J.: *La Préhistoire proto-indique au des fragments* Ampurias I pp. 5-61 Barcelon 1932. B. Hroany, *Über die alten Völkerwanderungen und über die Probleme der proto-indischen Zivilisation* Leiden 1931. Jorge Quintanilla Vives: *Aportaciones a la interpretación de la escritura proto-indica* Madrid, 1948.

Or, he may put in execution his boast, and march upon Lahore; but I doubt his doing this, unless he is satisfied that Maharajah Golab Sing will openly assist him.

Or, he may march down the Sind Sagur Doab to join his son in Mooltan, with the hope of defeating our force there, and, then, marching, as a conqueror, to the capital.

How the Durbar is to carry on any operations, I know not; the treasury is nearly empty, and the collection of any revenue will be difficult, under the present circumstances.

Inclosure 47 in No. 38.

The Adjutant-General to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Head-quarters, Simla, September 20, 1848.

IN forwarding a copy of a letter from Major-General W. S. Whish, reporting that, in consequence of Shere Sing, at the head of his whole force, having joined the enemy, he has felt himself obliged to withdraw the British troops from before Mooltan, I am desired to detail the measures, to meet the present emergency, which the Commander-in-Chief has felt himself called upon to adopt.

Her Majesty's 29th Foot, and the 31st and 56th regiments of Native Infantry, have been ordered to proceed to Mooltan, with every practicable expedition, to reinforce Major-General Whish.

With a view of assembling an army on the frontier, at the earliest possible date, in order to support the Mooltan force, and for whatever further operations circumstances may call for, the movements specified in the annexed memorandum, have been directed in this day's general orders.

The Commander-in-Chief now solicits the authority of Government, for forming the army he has ordered to assemble at Ferozepore, into divisions and brigades, and for appointing to command the same such officers as his Excellency may see fit to select for employment on this occasion; also, the usual proportion of staff officers, and establishments for the several departments.

The Commander-in-Chief recommends that every officer, absent on staff employ from a regiment taking the field, that can at all be spared, should be required to join his corps, immediately; and all medical officers holding appointments under Government, whose services can be dispensed with, should, likewise, his Excellency thinks, be directed to join the army, as soon as possible. Engineer officers of experience will, also, be urgently required with the army.

I am, again, instructed to press on the attention of Government the expediency of the army being recruited up to the former establishment of one thousand privates per regiment of infantry, and five hundred sowars per regiment of irregular cavalry, with the corresponding increase of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

If the civil officers were desired to make known, throughout their districts, that recruits are required, his Excellency feels persuaded that our ranks, in a very short time, would be filled to the required extent, and with the ready-trained soldiers who were discharged, with gratuity, two years ago.

Inclosure 48 in No. 38.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Adjutant-General.

Fort William, September 30, 1848.

AS the turn which affairs have now taken in the Punjab, renders it necessary that the most strenuous measures should be, immediately, taken for putting down the general insurrection, and maintaining the influence, and honor, of the British Government, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has come to the determination that, in order to support the operations

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* H. Hems, S. J.: *La Préhistoire proto-indique au des fragments Amhariques* I, pp. 5-61. Barcelon, 1939. B. Hroany, *Über die älteste Völkerentwicklung und über die Probleme der proto-indischen Zivilisation* I, p. 24, 1939. Jorge Quintanilla Vives, *Aportaciones a la interpretación de la escritura proto-indica*. Madrid, 1948.

I am desired to intimate to you, that the Governor-General in Council considers the State of Lahore to be, to all intents and purposes, directly at war with the British Government; and he expects that those who may be, directly or indirectly, concerned in these proceedings, will be treated, accordingly, by yourself and your officers.

No. 39.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

On the river, off Dinapore, November 1, 1848. (No. 2.)

THE chief events to which I would now call your attention, are the successful revolt of the Sikh troops in Bunnoo, and the departure of Raja Shere Sing with his force, from Mooltan, to join his father, Chuttur Sing. The Bunnoo troops, after murdering the Mahomedan Governor, Futteh Khan Towannah, and Colonel John Holmes (of the Sikh army), at first, agreed with Moolraj's emissaries to proceed to Mooltan. "Afterwards," Sir F. Currie states, "special messengers arrived from Sirdar Chuttur Sing, with a letter from himself, stating that they (the Bunnoo troops) would not find Raja Shere Sing at Mooltan, that all the Sikhs from Mooltan and elsewhere, were to assemble, and fight the battle of Khalsa independence, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and urging them, either to march towards Lahore, or to join him, at once, near Attock. After some consideration, it was determined to join Chuttur Sing, and the 17th of October was fixed on, as the day of departure from Bunnoo." Sirdar Chuttur Sing's force, joined by the Bunnoo troops, will consist, it is said, of ten battalions of infantry, averaging about 500 each, with about thirty guns, and 1,100 regular cavalry; and Raja Shere Sing's force is 5,000 men, with twelve guns. Captain Abbott, on the 11th of October, represented that Chuttur Sing was making every attempt to cross the Indus, and effect a junction with the troops in Peshawur.

From intercepted correspondence, it appears that Shere Sing left Mooltan, under instructions from his father, who tells him to meet him at Goojerat, where, according to the letters, there is to be a grand gathering of the Sikhs, and a junction with the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing. The last accounts from Lahore, dated the 23rd of October, represent Shere Sing to have made a bolder advance than was anticipated, as he is moving his cavalry in the direction of Sheikhoopoor, with the apparent intention of covering the march of his infantry up the left bank of the Chenab; he will, probably, however, re-cross the river, immediately he learns that the Resident is prepared to detach a brigade against him from Lahore, and that reinforcements are, already, on the march from Ferozepore.

Respecting the complexion of Maharajah Golab Sing's conduct, and the prevailing rumours of his secret hostility to the British, I would refer you to Sir F. Currie's letter* of the 6th ultimo. You will observe that, as yet, there is no evidence of any treacherous act, on the part of the Maharajah. The British Government, however, has a right to demand from him something more than neutrality. He has been lavish in professions of cordial friendship, and the Resident has assented to put those professions to a test which the Maharajah has himself proposed, namely, that he shall send a force against Chuttur Sing.

Major Lawrence holds his position at Peshawur, but he, evidently, regards it as a very precarious one. In the last letter received from him, dated the 13th ultimo, he urges an immediate advance upon Peshawur, lest the force there, "the best disciplined and equipped of the Khalsa army, amounting to nearly 9,000 men, with thirty field-guns, be arrayed against us, to say nothing of our having also to take the nine forts in this province."

You will observe, from the dispatches of the Bombay Government, the measures which they have taken for organizing a field force at Roree, to assist in the operations against Mooltan. The siege will be re-commenced upon the arrival of that force at Mooltan.

* Inclosure 8 in No. 39.

Inclosure I in No 39

Major Eduardes to the Resident at Lahore

Camp, Sooraj Koond, September 22, 1848

APPENDED to this letter is one out of the many incendiary proclamations, with which Raja Shere Sing, Attareewalla, and his accomplices, ever since their own desertion to the enemy, have been endeavouring to seduce those troops in my camp, which are still faithful to the real interests of Maharajah Duleep Sing.

The following is a literal translation of the document

Proclamation

TO all the officers of the Sepoys, and Sikhs, and Mussulmans, and regiments, all others that eat the salt of the Sovereign of the Khalsi, Maharajah Duleep Sing Bahadoor, such for instance as Sheik Lunnooddeen, and Jonahur Mull Dutt, and General Cortlandt Sihil Bahadoor, and Colonel Budra Nath, and Soobhan Khan, and Commandant Lahore Sing, &c &c

A religious war being now on foot, it becomes every public servant, whether he be Sikh or Moslem, at sight of this document, to march, without delay, and join the camp of the Khalsi, along with Raja Shere Sing Bahadoor and Dewan Moolraj in the work of eradicating the Fringes from this country of the Punjab

- 1st For their own religion's sake
- 2nd For the salt they have eaten
- 3rd For the sake of fur fame in this world
- 4th For promotion's sake
- 5th For love of the Jagheers and dignities which are to be obtained

- 1st He is unfaithful to the salt of the Sirkar
- 2nd An outcast from religion
- 3rd Worthy of any punishment that may be inflicted on him

(NB—Sealed by Raja Shere Sing, Dewan Moolraj, Sirdar Khooshal Sing, Moraree and others)

The pithiness of this effusion is only equalled by the art with which it addresses itself to both the good, and the bad, feelings of native soldiery, and it is necessary that it should be counteracted, at once. I would gladly have referred the matter to you, but the danger is immediate, and the mischief might be done, in the interim of my writing, and receiving your reply.

The defection of Raja Shere Sing's force has already obliged General Whish, to raise the siege of Mooltan. A further defection of three regular infantry regiments, and seventeen guns, would, perhaps, compel him to retreat altogether, which could only be considered as a disaster.

Under these circumstances, I have thought it my bounden duty to take on myself, the very great responsibility of assuring all the regular troops of Maharajah Duleep Sing, now under my command, that, if the conduct of the Sikh nation should oblige the British Government to declare the treaty null and void and to annex the Punjab to Hindostan, every soldier who, to the last, shall have faithfully performed his duty to the Maharajah, shall pass, as a matter of course, into the service of our Government, and enjoy the same privileges as he does now.

I beg to assure you, that I have not been induced to take this step from observing the smallest sign of disaffection in the troops alluded to. In their conduct, whether in the camp, or in the field, during two years' intimate acquaintance with these regiments, under very trying circumstances of fatigue and exposure, I have seen nothing but the most cheerful endurance and soldier-like subordination, and it was these very qualities which prevented me, now, from hesitating as to how I should act towards them, for, if our frontiers must necessarily be extended, and this large country be taken, still more closely, under

our charge, the local knowledge and rough-and-ready qualities of these troops will make them invaluable to us as frontier locals, if not in the line.

One of the three regiments (Soobhan Khan's Mussulman Pultun) has a peculiar claim to our protection; having accompanied General Pollock's army to Cabool, and done good service there.

The other two regiments are chiefly men of our own provinces, raised, drilled, and disciplined, by General Cortlandt, in the same manner as our own sepoys.

For honorable testimony to the conduct of them, I would refer to Major-General Whish, or any British officer in the Mooltan field force.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

The Resident at Lahore to Major Edwardes.

Lahore, September 27, 1848.

IN consideration of the late excellent service which has been rendered by General Cortlandt, and his regiments, and artillery, during the whole period of these disturbances, and especially in the hard-fought battles of the 18th of June and the 1st of July last; and in reference to the present state of revolt of nearly the whole Durbar army; you were justified in giving to General Cortlandt, and the corps under him, the assurance described in your letter; and I have no hesitation, as the representative of the British Government in these provinces, in confirming the pledge you have made to these corps, on the conditions you have prescribed.

I am quite satisfied that the Governor-General in Council will ratify this promise. The British Government will act justly, and will always make a marked distinction between those who serve them, and those who serve them not: on this occasion, faithful service will stand contrasted with treachery and perfidy of the deepest dye; and the British Government will make the reward of both, signal and exemplary.

Upon the conduct of the Durbar troops in Peshawur, the preservation of the lives of the British officers, as well as the possession of the province, depends. I have promised to all of them who remain faithful at this crisis, a full protection of their interests, and the benefits of their service. I consider the redemption of this promise incumbent on me, whatever may be the determination of the Government, as to the future administration of the Punjab.

The Sikh soldiers of the old régime can never again be trusted; and I must say that, to my knowledge, Raja Tej Sing said, two years ago, and has always adhered to the opinion; that it was less dangerous, and would prove less embarrassing, to disband them all, and raise a new army, than to continue a man of them in service. But there are, in the Punjab, excellent materials for forming superior regiments; and, as irregulars, under British officers, the most valuable, and efficient, and perfectly trustworthy, corps, may be organized. Those who remain faithful now, may be thus disposed of, if the Government should determine on the measure you contemplate; and, under all circumstances, service such as has been rendered by General Cortlandt's regiments, will be appreciated, and rewarded, by a just and grateful Government.

Inclosure 3 in No. 39.

The Resident at Lahore to Major Lawrence.

Lahore, September 29, 1848.

THE position of yourself, and the British officers with you, in Peshawur, is a cause of deep anxiety to me.

The admirable arrangements you have made, the influence you have established over the troops, and the excellent conduct of Sirdar Golab Sing, Povindea, and his son and deputy, Colonel Alla Sing, have enabled you, hitherto, to prevent the insurrectionary movement which has spread in different parts of the Punjab, during the last six months, from affecting the tranquillity of the

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* H. Hems, S. J.: *La Préhistoire proto-indique au des fragments Amhariques* 1, p. 561. Barcelon, 1939. B. Hroany, *Über die alten Völkerwanderungen und über die Probleme der proto-indischen Zivilisation* 1, p. 24, 1939. Jorge Quintanilla Vives, *Aportaciones a la interpretación de la escritura proto-indica*. Madrid, 1948.

ward, pushed on as far as Chuckowal, whence he put himself in communication with Major Lawrence at Peshawur, Captain Nicholson at Futteh Jhung, and Captain Abbott at Nara.

His presence, in that part of the country, had the effect of assuring the inhabitants, and he certainly appears to have used his influence, in every way, to defeat the machinations of Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

When the news of Raja Shere Sing's open defection reached me, I considered the time for negotiation entirely at an end, and I recalled Raja Deena Nath to Lahore.

Since his return, he appears to have entered, zealously, and earnestly, into the measures adopted for punishing the rebels by the confiscation of their Jagheers, and the attachment of their houses and property, and for counter-acting the plots of the insurgents.

But there is no doubt, whatever his views and feelings may be regarding this conspiracy, that he is disaffected towards the British Government, as I have constantly reported. Still, in this rebellion, set up by the Attareewallas, I have no reason to believe him to be, in any way, concerned.

It was reported to me, two days ago, and I consider the authority quite trustworthy, that Deena Nath remarked, in the Durbar at the palace, to Raja Tej Sing, that the Sikhs were uniting and combining so generally, that it appeared they were determined to try to make this another Cabool business, and that there was this in their favor, that they had a powerful artillery, whereas the Affghans had no guns. The remark was, of course, not without a purpose.

P.S.—While this letter was being copied, Raja Deena Nath came to the residency, with a letter which had been written to him by Raja Shere Sing, dated the 15th of September, telling him, that he had joined Moolraj, and that the whole of the Sikh nation was banded together, as one man, to get rid of the "scoundrels," meaning the English, and exhorting the Raja to join Chuttur Sing, and march, with the victorious Khalsa, to Lahore.

The messenger, the bearer of this letter, had also a number of proclamations, of the tenor already reported, and purwannas to the Peshawur troops. He was seized by one of the only loyal Durbar officials in this country, who sent the other papers to me, and the letter to Deena Nath. Deena Nath, immediately, brought it to me. It would have been more satisfactory if the letter had reached the Raja, in a more secret manner, and he had, then, brought it. He must have known, that I should hear of a letter having been sent him. The affair proves nothing regarding Deena Nath, either one way, or the other.

Inclosure 5 in No. 39.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, October 2, 1848.

WITH deep regret, I have to report the murder, by the Sikh troops at Bunnoo, of Colonel John Holmes, their commandant.

For some days, it has been rumoured in the city; to-day, it is confirmed by the arrival of one of his servants, who says that his master's tent was pitched in the centre of the camp, with six sentries round it; that, at night, (informant is not clear as to the date) a large party of armed Sikhs, unchallenged by the sentries, entered the tent, and deliberately shot the Colonel, and cut off his head.

On the intelligence reaching Futteh Khan Towannah, who is within the inner fort, he had the gates closed, and opened a fire on the Sikh troops; of two artillerymen who refused to work the guns, one was killed by Futteh Khan, and the hands of the other cut off.

The Khan is said to have lost no time in raising the Mahomedan population, who have beleagured the Sikhs, to the amount of many thousands; many men, it is reported, have been killed on both sides; among them, the leader of the murderers of the poor Colonel.

The Sikhs are said to be without ammunition, and already straitened for supplies, it is supposed few will escape
 Jutich Khin's position is said to be impregnable, but he has a scarcity of water, and what he has, is brackish
 P.S.—I have directed Sirdar Sooltan Mohamed to take measures for opposing the passage of any Sikhs, from Bunnoo via Kohat.

Inclosure 6 in No 19
 The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General

Lahore, October 4, 1818

SIRDAR CHUTTUR SING was still at Hurripore.
 Captain Abbott writes of expecting that the Sirdar will attack his position at Narra, and he seems confident that, if the Sirdar does so he can repulse him with heavy loss. He, moreover, says that, if the Sirdar is defeated in the attack the rebellion will be at an end.
 This last supposition is not reconcilable with the statements regarding the extensive ramifications of the plot, and the almost universal participation of chiefs troops and people in Chuttur Sing's conspiracy.
 Whatever Sirdar Chuttur Sing's rebellion may have arisen from, or whoever may have been his partisans hitherto, there seems little doubt that disaffection throughout the country is so general, and so many means have been employed to turn this disaffection to account at this time, that a very general insurrection is about to develop itself, and the mere putting down of Chuttur Sing, in Hazara would not go very far to restore order.
 The truth seems to be, that there was a very general conspiracy set afoot by the Maharane last cold weather, which, had it not been followed by the circumstances which subsequently occurred, the Maharane might have brought to maturity.

There has been, from the period of our occupation, a very general spirit of disaffection pervading the length and breadth of the land, and affecting particularly the army and the disbanded soldiery but shared in by all the Hindoo, and some part of the Mahomedan, population of the Punjab, with the exception only of the poorer classes.
 Any rebellion that might arise in any quarter, was sure to find many adherents, and extensive sympathy, though owing to the extraordinary distrust of all parties to wards one another, conflicting interests, jealousies, animosities, family feuds personal enmities and the like, a combined and comprehensive rebellion or insurrection, after the departure of the Maharane, was of difficult accomplishment.
 Sirdar Chuttur Sing's rebellion was, in the first instance a personal affair, I believe. He had been a party to the Maharane's plans, and in her confidence, and he wished to work out her scheme. The reports that were brought to Captain Abbott regarding the wide spread conspiracy, had reference, I suspect, to the Maharane's affair, and were true in themselves, but their application was erroneous.

Chuttur Sing is a man of no influence. The family is not one of distinction, and the branch of it to which he belongs, was never recognised in Maharajah Runjeet Sing's time. The family, moreover, has not wealth. Sirdar Chuttur Sing and his sons were raised to their present position, by the arrangements of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, with the approbation of the British Government.
 The family is unpopular with the chiefs, and the old adherents of Runjeet Sing is being upstarts and the creatures of Peshori Sing, and the friends of Maharajah Golab Sing, and they have no weight with the people, as being without wealth and having the character of being oppressive landlords in the Jaghirs which were bestowed on them at the instance of the Resident.

* He marched as I hear this morning on the south in the direction of Hussan Abdal. His destination was not known.—G.C. October 5

It is, on these accounts, that Chuttur Sing's rebellion has not made more head, and become more early formidable. To this day, no Sirdar has joined him, and he has only the Hazara force, and the levies he has raised from his estates, with about 700 Sikhs (mutinous troops) of Maharajah Golab Sing's, and some thousands of the old disbanded soldiery, ever ready to join in any rebellion, or insurrection of any kind.

It was some time after Chuttur Sing revolted, before his son, Raja Shere Sing, made up his mind to follow his example; and, when he could no longer resist his father's importunities, he intended to go off to Hazara, and join him. He was surrounded, at Mooltan, with disaffected parties, who were most of them willing to enter into any plot against British interests. At first, the lesser Sirdars, and the portion of the troops he consulted, agreed to go with him, to Hazara; but, on the evening of the 13th ultimo, they set before him the difficulty of crossing the river, with the British army close by, the certainty of the other Sirdars giving immediate intelligence to Lieutenant Edwardes, the distance they must travel, the low state of their funds, and the service which would be rendered to the cause, by their joining Moolraj in Mooltan. He, then, agreed to go to Mooltan, and wrote, on a separate slip of paper, the new determination, to be put in force in the morning, and put it into the cover of his letter, which he had already written, to his brother, Sirdar Golab Sing, at Lahore. Translation of this letter and the postscript was sent with my dispatch of the 18th ultimo.*

The Raja was not expected by Moolraj; and the reception he has met with, has been anything but pleasant. Moolraj does not trust him, or the troops he has brought with him. They are put to harassing duties, and no pay has been served out to them. It is demanded of them, as a proof of their sincerity, that they go forth and attack the British position, Moolraj's army accompanying. They have twice sallied forth with this avowed purpose, but have, both times, returned, without going a mile from the gates of the town. It is fully expected that Raja Shere Sing will make his escape from Mooltan, and go off to Hazara. Nearly a third of the troops that went with him to Mooltan, have already deserted, and gone to their homes.

Moolraj will take care that Shere Sing does not carry away with him, if he deserts, the guns he took with him to Mooltan. He is adding to his numbers, daily, by Sikhs from the Manjha, and other parts of the Punjab.

While this is the state of things in Hazara and Mooltan, disaffection and insurrection are spreading through the other districts of the Punjab, more or less, in connexion with the Hazara rebellion, and consequent upon it; and the Durbar is powerless to prevent this being the case, as all the instruments which are provided by the State revenues for the maintenance of order, are the very parties most ready to oppose the administration.

The inflammatory proclamations of Raja Shere Sing, calling on the army and the Khalsa to rise, and unite, for the purpose of destroying the British officers, or expelling them from the Punjab; appealing to their religious feelings and prejudices, which are described as having been outraged by us, while the extermination of the Sikh race has been our object, have been sent, throughout all the districts, and they have caused the greatest excitement. Counter proclamations, by the Durbar, and the Sirdars who have not joined in the rebellion, setting forth the falsehood of the Attareewalla's assertions, and the treachery, and destructive tendency, of their proceedings, have been put forth; but the people are bent on mischief, and on proceedings which must end in the utter ruin of the Sikh power.

The regiments in Bunnoo have revolted. They have murdered the only remaining European attached to the Sikh force, Colonel John Holmes, a most respectable officer, and a very old servant of the Sikh Government. They were investing the fort of Duleepgurh, in which was the Mahomedan Governor, Futteh Khan Towannah, when I last heard, and were themselves invested in turn by the vuziers of the hills, and the Bunnoochees, who had come to Futteh Khan's aid. I am anxious about the result. There are in Bunnoo, four regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, and six horse artillery, and four heavy guns.

If they succeed in destroying Futteh Khan Towannah, and in beating off his allies, they will, most probably, march across the Sind Sagur Doab, to the aid of the rebels in Mooltan, and the example will have the worst effect on the troops in Peshawur.

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ostentatious introduction of the Maharajah's name, is a circumstance somewhat in favor of the Maharajah's innocence; if he is concerned, he would, it is to be thought, take care that the fact should not be proclaimed, before he is ready to declare himself, which is not, it appears, yet the case.

The fact mentioned in paragraph 4, appears, at first sight, to afford a strong proof of the Maharajah's disaffection, and to furnish, at any rate, ground for demanding a serious explanation from him. His reply is very plausible, and not very easily answered: though I am far from allowing that the Maharajah is altogether free from blame in the matter, and that the Government have not cause for dissatisfaction with His Highness even by his own showing.

Meean Runbeer Sing, the Maharajah's son, and the Governor of Jummoo, sent me word, some time ago, that a Sikh regiment of the Maharajah's, stationed at Meerpore, had mutinied, and had gone off to Sirdar Chuttur Sing, at Hazara; the officers, and some dogras, to the number of 30 or 35, having separated from the mutineers, and gone to report the circumstance to the Maharajah, at Cashmere. Subsequently, from 250 to 300 Sikhs of another regiment did the same, and a similar report was made.

I wrote very strongly to Meean Runbeer Sing, and to the Maharajah, telling him, that the British Government would hold him responsible for the conduct of his troops, and that an act of hostility, on their part, would be looked on as one on his, and directing him to recall the troops that had left his territory.

At this juncture, Dewan Nihal Chund, the Maharajah's confidant, was sent off to me, from Cashmere.

The statement made to me by the Maharajah, in writing, and through Nihal Chund, was to the effect that, on the Maharajah taking possession of Cashmere, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence proposed to him to entertain in his service a part of the Sikh soldiery lately disbanded, and in the process of being paid off, and disbanded, at Lahore; that the Maharajah protested against the measure, stating that he had no confidence in the Sikh soldiers; that they would never do him good service, or remain subordinate to proper authority; and that he was desirous to have nothing whatever to do with them; but his objections were over-ruled by Colonel Lawrence, who said that so many of the Khalsa army being thrown out of employment would have an injurious effect, and all would be disheartened; and that it was the wish of the Governor-General that His Highness should entertain from 3,000 to 5,000 of them in the army, which he would have to raise, for his new possessions in Cashmere; that he, the Maharajah, thus urged by Colonel Lawrence, and his protest being over-ruled, consented to entertain 3,000 Sikhs; but warned Colonel Lawrence that they would be a perpetual source of embarrassment to him, while they remained, and would certainly join the first rebellion, or disturbance, that should occur. For the truth of these statements, he appealed to the khurreetas which passed at the time between Colonel Lawrence and himself, on record in the Residency Office. In all this, the Maharajah states no more than is fact.

The Maharajah, moreover, states that, in the exchange of Hazara with the Durbar last year, and on that province being transferred to the Lahore Government, he took the opportunity to get rid of 1,500 of his Sikh soldiers, still retaining the other 1,500 for a time, but fully intending to get rid of them also;

That, on the occurrence of the outbreak in Mooltan, he considered that it would not be proper of him to disband any more men, at that time, as the dismissed men would, in all probability, go to Mooltan to join Moolraj;

That he continued to keep all right, with the exception of a few desertions, or attempted desertions, all of which, he said, he had reported to me, until the rebellion in Hazara, when Sirdar Chuttur Sing, having applied to him for aid, and been refused, sent emissaries among the Sikh troops of his army, offering them 9 rupees per month, and other advantages, if they would come over to him, when one regiment of 440 men, which was on the frontier, before he could make arrangements for preventing it, mutinied, leaving their officers, who were all dogras, behind, and went off to Sirdar Chuttur Sing; the officers immediately reported this to Jummoo, and themselves went to the Maharajah at Cashmere;

That, on learning the above occurrence, from 250 to 300 Sikhs of another regiment followed the example of their countrymen, above described;

That, on hearing this, the Maharajah gave immediate orders for disarming,

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cause of Chuttur Sing. I esteem the enemies of the British Government mine own, and am ever ready to oppose them as such.

Should you permit it, I will take the field against the rebel Chuttur Sing, previously to the arrival of the British forces; and will take measures for inflicting on the traitor such punishment as will hold out a warning to others how they follow so iniquitous an example.

The reports that malicious tongues have circulated concerning me, I assure you to be false.

My confidant, Nihal Chund, has, doubtless, informed you how falsely, and faithlessly, many of the Sikhs have behaved, and I hope you give credence to his words.

By the British Government I am protected, and upheld; and to it I look for support and countenance in all things. How then can it be believed that I should engage in any matter which would be displeasing to you who are my protector?

It has been a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to know that you pay no attention, or credence, to the empty tales of calumnious persons.

I am most anxious for a speedy reply to this letter; pray send me your instructions, quickly.

Inclosure 10 in No. 39.

The Resident at Lahore to Maharajah Golab Sing.

YOUR letter, containing expressions of friendship, and fidelity, to the British Government, assurances of your being not only not implicated in the treachery of Chuttur Sing, the traitor, but of your readiness to undertake his chastisement, and to take the field for that purpose, if required, has reached me, and its contents have given me great gratification.

From Dewan Nihal Chund, personally, also I have received full confirmation of your friendly disposition toward the British Government. He has assured me that you consider its enemies as your own, and that it is your wish to act solely for the furtherance of its interests.

With the general progress of affairs here, and elsewhere, Dewan Nihal Chund will have kept you acquainted, in his letters

I feel assured that you will not, in any way, engage, or implicate yourself, in proceedings detrimental to the interests of the British Government.

While conversing with Dewan Nihal Chund, regarding the punishment of the traitor Chuttur Sing, I said, in reply to a proposition from him, that "If you (the Maharajah), to put an end to the reports circulated to your injury, by evil-disposed persons, to the effect that you were implicated in the rebellion of Chuttur Sing, and well-affected towards him, should, communicating with Captain Abbott, take measures for the suppression, and chastisement, of the aforesaid Chuttur Sing, the fact would be placed beyond a doubt, that you, so far from favoring, were ready, and anxious, to put down the nefarious proceedings of the "Attarees," and that the reports of your calumniators would be proved false, and their mouths closed for ever; further, that you would enjoy the credit of being a faithful ally to the British Government, in supporting its interests, and treating its enemies as your own; the hearing of which would be to me a source of the greatest satisfaction.

To your proposition of sending a force to punish, and suppress, Chuttur Sing, previous to the arrival of the British forces, there is no objection; and, by such a step, you will yet more clearly prove the falsehood of those who may have reported that you favored, either personally, or by the presence of any of your adherents in his service, the cause of the traitor Chuttur Sing.

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advice of many of his Sikh followers, who are anxious to remove the scene of war to the Manjha, where they can, at once, protect their homes from confiscation, and recruit their ranks.

There are some few timid spirits who secretly advise Raja Shere Sing to make his peace with the British, even at the eleventh hour; and one hurkara from his camp states, that the propriety of going to Lahore, and making submission to you, was discussed in open cutchery. If any such discussion took place, it could only be as a blind to conceal more dangerous designs; but I am inclined to think the Raja's plan is, to join his father in Hazara, and, unitedly, arrange a plan of future operations.

Baba Malee Sing's Sikh sowars are said to have made their escape from Mooltan, this morning, and to have joined Shere Sing's camp at Sir-darpoor.

The presence of Raja Shere Sing was very irksome to Moolraj, who, from the first day, distrusted the motives of his defection. He was, also, constantly afraid of the Sikh force exacting rewards from him; a demand which his treasury in Mooltan is, now, unable to meet; and he, at last, hit on the expedient of promising them pay, if they would go out, and have one good fight with the British; which the Sikhs declined. Still, the departure of 5,000 men, and twelve pieces of artillery, cannot but dishearten, as well as weaken, those who are left behind; and I hear that Moolraj has sent off an express to the Bunnoo force, offering them increased pay, if they will hurry to Mooltan.

Food is becoming very scarce. Before the Raja left, six seers of atta only, were to be had in Mooltan, for a rupee. Since he went, it has fallen to nine seers. In camp, the price is eleven and twelve.

Inclosure 13 in No. 39.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, October 13, 1848.

IT is with deep regret that I have now to acquaint you that Futteh Khan Towannah, after holding the citadel for some days, was driven out by the want of water, and, with six followers, barbarously cut to pieces.

The force is said to be, still, at Bunnoo, undecided as to their movements. They had detached a party to bring in their pay, which had reached Lukkee, from Lahore. and another of 400 Goorchurras to seize the boats, 45, at Esakhail. Some were for moving on Mooltan, and others on Attock.

Inclosure 14 in No. 39.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, October 13, 1848.

I HAVE still very reasonable hope that, should a British force move in this direction, even at this the eleventh hour, it will enable me to hold them to their duty, for, as yet, in no matter have I relaxed the reins of discipline; and the officers fully support me.

I will keep my people, to the last, at the Residency, as, while I do so, the Urbobs and people will hold to me. When I can do so no longer, I will take to the fort of Shahmeer Gurh, which I have provisioned for 3000 men for one month, and, if driven from that, will do my best to secure my own safety, and that of the persons attached to the agency.

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battle of Khalsa independence, in the neighbourhood of Lahore; and urging them either to march towards Lahore, or unite with him on the way, or to join him, at once, near Attock. After some consideration, it was determined to join Chuttur Sing, and the 17th of October was fixed on, as the day of departure from Bunnoo.

Inclosure 16 in No. 39.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, October 19, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter from Lieutenant Edwardes, dated the 10th instant*, reporting the departure, from Mooltan, of Raja Shere Sing, with all his force, on the 9th instant.

His Lordship will not be surprised at this intelligence. I have all along reported my expectation that Shere Sing would leave Moolraj, to join his father in Hazara; though I did not expect that Moolraj would allow him to take away his forces with him, or that the soldiers who accompanied him into Mooltan, would desire to leave Moolraj.

By accounts of four days later than those given by Lieutenant Edwardes in this letter, it appears that Shere Sing crossed the Ravee, at Ram Chountra, a little below its junction with the Chenab, and marched towards Jhung. A very large part of Moolraj's army had deserted the Dewan, to join the Khalsa camp, which, it is supposed, will proceed to Pind Dadun Khan, or Rotas, to unite with the forces under Sirdars Chuttur Sing and Ootar Sing.

Inclosure 17 in No. 39.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, October 20, 1848.

I AM satisfied that your Lordship will do all in your power to expedite the movement of troops towards the north-west; the very demonstration of a force anywhere across the Ravee, may save the province of Peshawur, and the lives of our officers on the frontier.

Inclosure 18 in No. 39.

Captain Nicholson to the Resident at Lahore.

Ramnuggur, October 21, 1848.

SHERE SING'S advanced guard was at Pindee Buttean yesterday, within chupaoing distance.

The Durbar people have, evidently, misinformed you of the state of affairs in the Chuch Doab. Urjun Sing is at Goojerat, with a daily increasing force. Ootar Sing is crossing, from Jullalpoore. The non-advance of our troops has disheartened all our well-wishers (and they were few enough), and proportionately inspired our many secret enemies.

Though Shere Sing is not very near me, yet the route by which he is advancing, is favorable to any attempt he might make to intercept the retreat he knows I must make. Taking all this into consideration, as also the very doubtful disposition of my Sikh allies, I think I am justified in falling back on Goojranwalla, which I purpose doing to-night.

I should also mention that the non-arrival of any reinforcements has increased the despondency which has, for some time, prevailed in my levies, and I have no longer the little confidence I formerly had in them. I do not expect to be able to remain long at Goojranwalla, unless supported.

There are two fords between this and Wuzceerabad.

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Raja Shere Sing and the other insurgents, in despair at the refusals he had received from the Sikh officers at Peshawur.

This sudden change in their views and proceedings is attributed, by the Resident, (I know not how correctly) to the machinations of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, the Barukzye chief, who holds a large Jagheer on the other side of the Indus, in which, through the kind intercession of Sir Henry Lawrence, he had been allowed to reside, after having been long kept under surveillance, at Lahore, by the Sikhs. The Resident truly observes, how remarkable it is that all those who are engaged in the most active hostilities against us, are the very persons who have received the most marked consideration and favor, and have derived the most substantial benefit from the establishment of British authority.

It is another of the singular features of the rebellion, that the defection of the troops occurs at the very period when there is the least reason to expect it, and at the very time when some success has been achieved against their cause. Thus, we find the Peshawur troops going over, when, all hopes of their co-operation having failed, Raja Chuttur Sing was seeking the intervention of Maharajah Golab Sing in his behalf; Raja Shere Sing deserting the camp of the allies, just after they had obtained the most signal success; the petty chiefs of Moraree and Rungur Nuggul starting into rebellion, after the occupation of Govindgurh was calculated to extinguish their hopes; and the Poorbeah regiment in Major Edwardes' force, in the late action at Sooraj Koond, deserting the cause of the allies, at the time that the British troops were securing the object of their well concerted attack.

Major and Mrs. Lawrence, and Lieutenant Bowie, are, at present, safe in Kohat, and it is to be hoped that they will be able to find refuge in the steamer Meanee, which has been dispatched to Kalabagh to bring them off. If they are unable to effect their retreat, through the assistance of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, there will be every reason to suppose that he has really been playing false, during Major Lawrence's residence at Peshawur, and that his treachery has been purchased, by the promise of restoring Peshawur to the Barukzye family.

It will be remembered that, when the Minister, Raja Lal Sing, contemplated the establishment of an independent power between the Jhelum and the Indus, it was part of his scheme to constitute Sooltan Mahomed Khan as his ally, at Peshawur.

The mere treachery of this intriguing chief will be of no consequence, provided the European officers escape free from his hands; but it is to be feared that his open declaration of the re-establishment of an Affghan dynasty, on the other side of the Indus, may affect the feelings of the Mahomedan population, and, by thus raising up a new combination against us, which has hitherto promised to be one of our main sources of success, add considerable embarrassment at this difficult crisis. The excesses committed by the troops under Raja Shere Sing upon the Mahomedans of Jhung, may, on the other hand, serve to exasperate the feelings of the Mahomedan population against the Sikhs, and altogether neutralize the attempts to maintain the incompatible alliance which has sprung up between them at Peshawur.

The latest accounts from the north-west show that, up to the 6th instant, Raja Chuttur Sing remained at Peshawur, that Captain Abbott maintained his post at Nara, and Lieutenant Herbert at Attock. It is to be feared that the latter will scarcely be able to prevent the garrison from joining the rebels. It consists almost entirely of Mussulmans, but it can scarcely be expected that they will continue loyal, after the open revolt of their brethren at Peshawur. To both these officers, as well as to Major Lawrence, it is my intention to offer my cordial approbation of the energy, judgment, and ability which has marked their proceedings, since they were, first, compelled to act upon the defensive.

Affairs at Mooltan continue in the same state as when I last wrote. The success obtained by Brigadier Markham, on the 7th instant, in an attack, most skilfully conducted, against an advanced position of the enemy, has not materially altered the relative position of the combatants. Major-General Whish is, still, awaiting reinforcements from Sind, and, notwithstanding the departure of Raja Shere Sing, does not feel himself strong enough to recommence operations against Mooltan, with

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ascent of the undulations upon the crest of which was my own post, a path leading to Srikote. I had, at first, only 200 matchlocks to oppose to them. But, as the contest grew warm, about 400 of my people came up from Umbar Khana, the position avoided by the Sikhs, and the hill was disputed from rock to rock, and bush to bush, so that by 2 p.m., they had won only the foot, and easiest acclivity, and had, still, before them not only all the strong ground of my position itself, but the first undulation of the mountain's base; there they turned back, retreating, with much coolness, under the fire of my skirmishers. Could I have persuaded the reserve to charge sword in hand, the retreat might have been converted into a rout. But my exhortations were so coldly received that I desisted.

Meanwhile, the garrison had evacuated, and fired, the fort, and had joined the relieving army. Soon afterwards, the powder magazine exploded, throwing down about twenty feet of the western wall—a beautiful sight, which caused a momentary pause in the skirmishing.

The Sikh army marched back in good order; being strong in cavalry and artillery, they were secure from molestation in ground so open. They consumed fifteen of their dead, in a blazing thatch upon the field, and carried away, it is said, sixty dead bodies, and about 126 wounded. The reports, however, are various. Two officers of consequence were amongst the slain.

The whole affair was managed with skill and judgment, which proves Chuttur Sing to be no contemptible soldier. The troops, if not very dashing, were cool and self-possessed, and I only once saw them run. It was, I believe, when Ata Mahomed Khan and four of his people charged them sword in hand. He was one of the Simulkund chiefs, whom I released lately from prison, and who, by his devotion to the Government, has fully justified my confidence. He fell by a hundred wounds.

My own matchlockmen behaved well, though not in the style of their fathers. The ground was not very strong; but they might, sometimes, have maintained their temporary posts longer. Owing to the large space to be covered with 1,800 matchlocks, I could never bring more than one matchlock to every ten of the enemy, upon any given point.

The number killed on our side amounts, as nearly as I can reckon, to nine or ten. The number of wounded is not, I think, greater. The slaughter on both sides would have been greater, had I not resisted the gallant offer of the Simulkundis to oppose the right column upon level ground. The spot being manifestly untenable against superior numbers and discipline, I forbade the occupation of any post, save such as might be maintained to the last.

The Sikhs, it is said, are disheartened at the result of this affair, in which they have placed *hors de combat* as many men as they have rescued, and this, upon ground of no strength, admitting of wheel carriages. Their loss is attributable to their advancing in masses, against individuals scattered amongst the bushes. My own levies are elated, and will, henceforth, I doubt not, behave with spirit. Three hundred of my best matchlockmen were in league with the enemy not to fire, provided their villages, Koondi and Umbar Khana, were spared. This greatly crippled their skirmishing.

I received the most material assistance from Mr. James Ingram, assistant surgeon (a son of the late Captain Ingram, of this service). I had forbidden him to mix in the skirmishers, from a diffidence of men who had twice deserted me at need. But his ardor led him into the field, and he arrived in time to rally a large party of matchlockmen, who were retreating, upon pretence of escorting their wounded leader.

Chuttur Sing was employed, on the 19th, in burning his dead. To-day, he has marched two coss southward, towards Attock. The number of wounded, for whom he has no litters, is said to be the cause of this short march. The report of his purpose to force his way to Torhaila, was strong, so that I have had my people under arms to resist him. He could not reach Torhaila without heavy loss. I have been the last three days without shelter, and without chair or table, watching the enemy. It was not possible to write sooner, but I deputed Mr. Ingram to inform Lieutenant Herbert and Major Lawrence of the result, the Lahore dak being still suspended.

Mahomed Khan, one of those lately returned from Captain Edwardes' camp in Mooltan, is, I regret to say, amongst the slain.

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Inclosure 7 in No. 40.

Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Peshawur, October 24, 1848.

IT is with much regret I have to report that this force, so long kept in hand, yesterday broke out in open mutiny.

Everything was going on as usual; Lieutenant Bowie had ridden to the city, and I was about to mount, when the Governor, Sirdar Golab Sing, told me not to do so; that he had just heard matters were not right. I, instantly, sent for Lieutenant Bowie, who, fortunately, promptly obeyed the summons; five minutes later, he would have been either killed or a prisoner, for, on passing the Shere dragoons, which were drawn up in line, they regularly charged him,—two small ditches, and the speed of his horse, alone saved him.

From the house-top, we could see that the two Sikh cavalry corps, and three infantry ones, had assembled on the grand parade, and were, evidently, in a state of revolt. Messengers came shortly after, and confirmed this.

I sent what assistance I could, from Ram Sahaie and the Mahomedan Ramgole regiment, and my new Puthan corps, to the guns under charge of Colonel Meer Junglie's, and those under Ameer Khan's regiment, and got all the rest, with the Moolkias, under arms.

We, shortly afterwards, heard that General Elahie Buksh, on being sent for to join with the guns, and Colonels Meer Junglie, Ameer Khan, and Ram Sahaie with their regiments, had declared that, without the Governor's, or my, order, they would stand to their duty.

Sirdar Khan Sing, Majeetia, returned a like answer for himself and Goor-churras; one missul, under Pumma Sing, alone joining the rebels.

I sent to Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed to attend me with his troops, but he merely sent his son, towards evening, with an excuse that he had to look after his own family; he is said to have had a meeting of the officers at his house, the previous night, when their plans were arranged; this requires confirmation.

During the whole day, the rebel troops remained on the parade in consultation, and sending messages to General Elahie Buksh and the other Colonels, beseeching them to join, but all without effect; they warned them to keep off their guns, or they would fire on them; they also wrote to the Governor to furnish them with carriage, and the pay of Ootar Sing's regiment, which, if he did, they would march and join their brethren; he replied, if such was their intention, let them prove it, by at once marching to Pubbee, distant 11 miles, and, then, they should get the pay, and carriage.

Towards evening, after having made up their minds to attack the guns, and as often given up the idea, they moved off the parade to the cantonment, on the east of the city, where they now are, taking with them a company of Mehtab Sing's regiment, on duty in the Gare Kuttry, two small guns, which were there, and about 8,000 rupees, which the treasurer, contrary to my express orders, had kept there, I fancy, with a view to embezzle them.

I had given positive orders that the gates of the city should not be opened to them, but the Sikh Ramgole regiment on duty with the police, joined them, and, thus, they gained possession of the Gare Kuttry.

Sirdar Khan Sing, Majeetia, and Colonels Boodh Sing and Ruttan Sing, Man, and the other three Colonels, came to me, in the evening, and we consulted on what was to be done, but I can clearly see there is no chance of my being able to make any offensive movement against the rebels, and I expect the moment Sirdar Chuttur Sing arrives, which, it is said, he is to do in a couple of days, all the troops will join him.

In the evening, I visited, and praised the conduct of, the Mahomedan and Nujeeb regiment, with the artillery; and, as they have proved themselves staunch under such a very severe trial, as yesterday was to them, I feel it would not do for me, now that they may be said to have separated themselves from their own people, to seem to mistrust, or forsake them. I have, therefore, resolved to remain here, until they join the rebels, and, then, trust to Providence for our personal safety.

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recent conduct of the troops, was too apparent; and, to reach the latter, we must have been exposed to the enemy's cavalry, already in motion, their force being encamped on the road, with pickets thrown out on all sides, in addition to which four Ressalas had started, in the morning, for the ferry on the Indus, under the fort of Attock.

Even had I succeeded in reaching that post, my arrival, and its cause, I conceive, would have raised such a panic in the garrison, as, in all human probability, would have led to its immediate evacuation, and thus compromised the safety of Lieutenant Herbert.

Under the foregoing circumstances, I trust it will be considered that I held my position, as long as was practicable, and that, in proceeding to Kohat, I have adopted the plan most expedient, and least likely to embarrass the Government.

Inclosure 9 in No. 40.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, October 26, 1848.

CAPTAIN NICHOLSON reports, on the night of the 24th, from Ramnuggur, that the Bunnoo force had arrived close to Jullalpore, on the Jhelum, which river Ootar Sing was crossing at Jullalpore, on that day. The cavalry of Raja Shere Sing's force, with four guns, were at Jullalpore, on the left bank of the Chenab; and Sirdar Ootar Sing, Gunrunbea, is, with 2000 Irregulars, at a place called Norkote, near Sheikhoopoor, about twenty miles from Lahore.

Raja Shere Sing, with his infantry and artillery, was to leave Jhung on Sunday the 22nd, and march up the left bank of the Chenab, his purpose being, as stated in his camp, to form a junction with the Bunnoo force, and that under his brother Ootar Sing, and take up his position at Wuzeerabad, and thence to advance on Lahore.

If this purpose was really entertained by Raja Shere Sing and his army, it must have been under the impression, which has become very prevalent of late, that we had no troops to send, for the reinforcement of Lahore.

I doubt not the advance of the troops to-day, as I understand, at Kana Kutch, will cause some change in the movements of the rebels.

I do not think that Captain Nicholson's information about the Bunnoo troops, can be quite correct. They were, I suspect, at least two marches from Jullalpore, on the 24th; but they are, certainly, on their way to join Raja Shere Sing and Sirdar Ootar Sing. When these forces unite, they will have six regiments of infantry, twenty-six or twenty-eight guns, about 3,500 Irregular Cavalry, and a large horde of newly-raised, unorganized, and ill-armed Irregulars.

Inclosure 10 in No. 40.

Major Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, October 27, 1848.

THE Sikh troops who revolted in Bunnoo, began crossing the Indus, at the Esakhail ferry, on the 21st of October. The passage was completed on the 22nd, and Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapeewallah, who is their leader, talked of marching next day on Meeunwallah, which is several coss inland, on the high sandy ground which marks the limit of the Indus inundation, and divides the fertile tract called the Cuchee, from the Thull, or desert, of the Sind Sagur Doab.

The Sikhs have left in Lukkee two heavy guns and one mortar, with, it is said, 500 or 600 men, including the missul of Lungur Khan of Sahuwul, commanded by his son. The two heavy guns have been there for a year, and belong to the Jhinsee troop of Colonel Sooltan Ahmed Khan (son of General Elahee Buksh); they are much honey-combed, and want reboring, which accounts for their being left behind. The mortar is also a small one, and not worth much.

One account mentions that the Sikhs have carried away the Thannadar of

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Inclosure 12 in No. 40.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.**Lahore, November 1, 1848.*

I FORWARD the letter, this day received from Lieutenant Edwardes, dated the 27th ultimo.

The information it contains, regarding the movements of both the Bunnoo troops, and Shere Sing, is, I believe, correct; it corresponds with accounts brought to me from both camps.

Shere Sing kept his intention, if it were not formed in consequence of the late movements on Lahore, secret to the last. He sent on all his cavalry, with the exception of about 500 natives of his own Jagheers, to different positions on the left bank of the Chenab, up to Jullalpore; the strongest detachment, with two guns, being under Soorutt Sing, Majeetia, at Chuniote; having promised that he would, with the infantry and artillery, march up the left bank himself to Wuzeerabad, where he was to be joined by the other rebel troops.

He has now crossed the Chenab, for the purpose of uniting with the Bunnoo troops, when the joint force will, most probably, move, as remarked by Lieutenant Edwardes, either on Pind Dadun Khan, or Goojerat; they give out that they are coming to Wuzeerabad.

The cavalry of Shere Sing are said to be much exasperated at the deceit which they consider has been put upon them. Their Jagheers and houses are all in the Doabs south-east of the Chenab, and chiefly in the Baree, between the Ravee and Beas. When they left Mooltan, Shere Sing promised to march straight upon Lahore, or into the Manjha, for the protection of their property; at Sirdarpore, he persuaded them to come viâ Jhung, under the solemn assurance that he would move up the left bank of the Chenab, to Wuzeerabad; and now, having pushed them forward, he has crossed the Chenab, and left them, without artillery, or support, on this bank. His own desire is said to be to join his father, who continues waiting on the Indus, in the hope of being joined by the Peshawur force, without which they all feel that they can offer no important opposition to a British army; but the troops with him are not disposed either to go themselves so far with him, or to let him go without them, to rejoin them again, by dak, as he promises.

There is a prevalent report to-day, that Shere Sing will march up the right bank of the Chenab, with his guns, and infantry, in a line parallel with the cavalry on the left.

Lal Sing, Morareca, the Adawlutee* of the Sind Sagur Doab, who joined the rebels about three weeks ago, has crossed the Chenab, with about 2,000 irregulars, and has occupied Wuzeerabad.

Inclosure 13 in No. 40.

*Brigadier-General C. R. Cureton, C.B., Commanding the Cavalry Division of the Army of the Punjab, to the Adjutant-General.**Camp, Purhul, November 2, 1848.*

I, THIS morning, crossed the Ravee, by the bridge of boats, and encamped at this place, about six miles north of the river, on the Wuzeerabad road, with the troops named in the margin.†

In consequence of a communication received from Sir F. Currie, I think it my duty to advance, to-morrow morning, with the above-mentioned force, with the addition of No. 10 Light Field Battery, and the 14th Light Dragoons, which I have obtained from Brigadier Campbell, C.B., commanding at Lahore; and the brigade of infantry consisting of the Company's 2nd European regiment, and 70th Native Infantry, under the command of Brigadier Godby, C.B.

* Inclosure 6 in No. 12, page 66.

† 1st troop 3rd brigade Horse Artillery, 2nd troop 3rd brigade Horse Artillery, 4th troop 2nd brigade Horse Artillery, Her Majesty's 3rd Dragoons, 5th Light Cavalry, 8th Light Cavalry, 12th Irregulars.

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The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

On the River, off Ghazeeepore, November 4, 1848.

THE Governor-General is sensible that, although advancing to the frontier as rapidly as circumstances will permit, he is still at such a distance as to render it expedient that he should entrust, as the Government has heretofore done, to your discretion, and to that of the Commander-in-Chief, the detail of such measures as may appear to be necessary to meet the exigency of circumstances as they arise. His Lordship is gratified to observe that you are prepared to afford your cordial co-operation to his Excellency in all matters calculated to promote the public interests, and to secure the objects which the Government have in view, in the operations about to be commenced in the Punjab.

The sudden and frequent changes of position among the disaffected troops, and the consequent variation of measures which speedily becomes necessary to counteract their designs, and to enable our troops to act against them, determine the Governor-General to fetter you and the Commander-in-Chief, as little as possible, with minute instructions as to specific movements, while, at the same time, he states, explicitly, the object which the Government has in view, and is resolved to accomplish.

When the Dewan Moolraj, having put to death the British officers, engaged in open and armed rebellion, the Government of Lahore was informed that, as it had declared itself unable to inflict punishment, or to make reparation, for the gross outrage thus committed against us, the British Government would, at a fitting time, direct its armies against Mooltan, to inflict due punishment on the Dewan and his adherents.

The Governor-General deeply regrets the temporary check which has interrupted the continuous, and apparently successful, progress of operations against Mooltan; and, while his Lordship, in a purely military question such as this, must leave it to his Excellency's judgment to determine what amount of force is absolutely necessary to enable the British troops to attack that fortress with success, his Lordship is fully sensible of the extreme importance of its early reduction, and desires to express his sanguine hope, and confident expectation, that operations will be resumed at the earliest moment at which, in the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief, they can be properly renewed, and that nothing will be left undone, for the purpose of carrying them into effect, with the utmost energy and determination.

The insurrection at Mooltan having been followed by an open rebellion of the great body of the Sikh army and Sikh population, which has, for its avowed object, not only the expulsion of the British Government from that position which they hold by treaty in the Punjab, but the destruction of the British power; it is essential, for the safety, as well as for the honor of this Government, that the hostile and treacherous attack which has thus been contemplated, should, at once, be effectually met, and that the army, by whom it is attempted, should be dispersed, and crushed.

The Governor-General hopes to learn that the Commander-in-Chief, by means of the force assembling at Ferozepore, will have been enabled, without exposing the position we already occupy to risk, to attack the forces approaching from different quarters, and to destroy them, before they could effect a junction of the whole.

The Governor-General has perfect confidence that you, and his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, will act in concert for the purpose of carrying into execution, with all practicable speed, such measures as may tend to accomplish the object the Government has in view, and to secure the safety of the British officers on detached duty, throughout the Punjab, whose position is regarded by his Lordship with deep and constant anxiety.

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being made on Lieutenant Bowie, when taking his morning's ride, by some troopers of the dragoon regiment, from which he escaped by the fleetness of his horse, and reached home, when the gates of the compound were closed, and the Sikh dragoons were fired on by the Mahomedan guard at the Residency.

The further statements of details contained in Lieutenant Herbert's letter are far from clear, and they are the reports of persons not immediately concerned; but the fact is certain, and has been corroborated by native letters and messengers, that the whole of the troops, eventually, joined the insurgents, and that, during the night of the 24th, the British officers left Peshawur.

Whither they have gone is, as yet, uncertain; but it is believed (and this is most probable) that they have gone to Kohat, the Jagheer and residence of the Barukzye chief, Sooltan Mahomed Khan.

It is said that Attock was occupied, without opposition, by Sirdar Chuttur Sing, on the 28th ultimo, Lieutenant Herbert having previously fled, finding that the garrison were not disposed to resist; but this report is, as yet, unconfirmed; Captain Abbott, writing from Nara on the 28th, had not heard it.

The statement made by the cossids who have arrived, and those contained in letters received by Raja Deena Nath, from parties on the spot, which he has shown me, are to the effect that the outbreak, at last, took place, after the officers had given a final refusal to join Chuttur Sing, by the instigation, and machinations, of Sirdars Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Peer Mahomed Khan, the Barukzye chiefs, to whom Sirdar Chuttur Sing promised the province, as the reward of their assistance; and it is said that the Sikhs, on marching, have made over possession of Peshawur to the Barukzyes. This is highly probable.

Sooltan Mahomed Khan is the most treacherous and intriguing of a race and family notorious for treachery and intrigue. Maharajah Runjeet Sing never, after the conquest of Peshawur, allowed him to leave Lahore, nor did the succeeding rulers. Colonel Lawrence believed that the Sirdar would do no mischief, if allowed to reside on his Jagheer, and permitted him, accordingly, to do so, obtaining, for him and his family, many favors, and much consideration, from the Lahore Government. It is remarkable that all the parties who are taking the most prominent part in the present rebellion, are those who have received the most marked consideration and kindness at the hands of Sir Henry Lawrence, and may be supposed to have benefited most by the establishment of British authority.

When Mrs. Lawrence left Peshawur to come to Lahore, at the end of September, a son of Sooltan Mahomed, with a large party of his retainers, horse and foot, was appointed to escort her. At Chuckowal, in the Sind Sagur Doab, some parties told Mrs. Lawrence that Chuttur Sing's forces had occupied the road in advance, and so alarmed her that she insisted on returning. She returned to Kohat, where, by Major Lawrence's directions, she has since been residing. I have not been able to learn what the conduct of the Sirdar's son, and of the escort, upon that occasion was; but it is certain that, at that time, and with that strong escort, Mrs. Lawrence might have proceeded with safety, or she might have crossed the salt range, and have come by Khooshal, through a part of the country which was then quite undisturbed.

I have little doubt, if the British officers are in Sooltan Mahomed's power, they will receive no injury at his hands; but I fear he will detain them, in the hope of making terms for himself, by negotiation for their release. It is, at present, only from report, and from the fact of Mrs. Lawrence being at Kohat, that I suppose the British officers to be with the Sirdar.

I am in the greatest anxiety regarding these officers and Mrs. Lawrence, and also about Lieutenant Herbert, who was at Attock. A few days must relieve this suspense.

I have given Chuttur Sing, and his son Golab Sing, distinctly to understand, in writing, that if any injury is inflicted, by Chuttur Sing, or any of his people, or through his means, on any British officer, it will be visited by the heaviest vengeance of the British Government, on the lives of Chuttur Sing and all concerned.

Major Lawrence deserves the highest praise for having succeeded in keeping the Peshawur force to its allegiance, so long after the fraternization of all the rest of the Durbar army. I am more surprised at the troops so long resisting the overtures and invitation of Sirdar Chuttur Sing and his adherents,

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At 2 A.M., to-day, I learnt with much surprise and regret that several hundred of one of the three regular regiments of the Sikh service that was occupying, for the night, our advanced position (our siege guns having first been withdrawn from it), had gone over to the enemy, and that the 300 Rohillas with Lieutenant Bunny's two Horse Artillery guns remaining, might prove inadequate, which led to my immediately sending on our pickets to their aid. At about 3 A.M., Lieutenant Edwardes came to me, as did other officers. The former, after what had taken place, could not be answerable for his troops performing the duties assigned to them yesterday, but said that a victory would have a most salutary effect upon them. I, then, modified my plan as regarded the west side of the canal, and agreed that measures there should only be defensive, unless the Allies should show a readiness to give effect to the whole of it, and which I am happy to say they did, after gallantly repulsing, at 8 A.M., a severe attack made on them, by the enemy, with all his disposable force.

At 10 A.M. our Infantry reached their destination in echelon of brigades, right in front, and were duly supported by the Horse Artillery and Cavalry, in carrying the enemy's position, and capturing the greater part of his guns, which was effected within an hour, with the small loss of two or three killed, and twelve or fourteen wounded, no officer being among the casualties.

The defection of one of the Sikh regiments made me think it most desirable that I should not leave camp, and as our Cavalry here were to be for the day increased by 1000 of the horse of our Allies, I requested Brigadier Salter to remain also. On several accounts I was averse to delay the attack, and I trust that, independent of its complete success, it will meet with his Lordship's approval.

Mooltan Field Force Division Order.

November 6, 1848.

The operations against the enemy, the last three days, not having had the desired effect, their position will be attacked to-morrow, when the following details will be in readiness, at 4½ A.M., to proceed under the officers named.

Cavalry and Horse Artillery.

Brigadier Salter commanding.

- 2 squadrons 11th Light Cavalry, completed to 160 rank and file.
- 2 squadrons 7th Irregular Cavalry, completed to 220 rank and file.
- 2 squadrons 11th Irregular Cavalry, completed to 220 rank and file.
- 4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery.

Infantry.

Under command of Brigadier Markham.

Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, C.B., commanding.

- 6 companies H.M.'s 10th Regiment, completed to 400 rank and file.
- 8 companies 8th Regiment Native Infantry, completed to 512 rank and file.
- 8 companies 52nd Native Infantry, completed to 512 rank and file.

Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke commanding.

- 6 companies Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, completed to 500 rank and file.
- 8 companies 49th Regiment Native Infantry, completed to 352 rank and file.
- 8 companies 51st Regiment Native Infantry, completed to 560 rank and file.

The 72nd Regiment Native Infantry, and all details not included above, will remain in Camp, under command of Brigadier Hervey, who will keep all on the alert from day-break, and direct two-thirds of the disposable Cavalry to patrol the front of Camp, at half a mile distance, with 4 guns of 4th Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.

The 2 Horse Artillery guns on the right, and 60 sowars of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, will attend the Major-General.

40 Pioneers will accompany the 4th Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.

The mode of attack will be communicated to Brigadiers and Officers in command at 4 P.M., at the Major-General's quarters.

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aware of their position and circumstances, might have made a serious attack on the post with great promise of success, but the above officers remained firm, and gave confidence to the small details with them to continue a similar course.

Inclosure 22 in No. 40.

Brigadier F. Markham, commanding 2nd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, Army of the Punjab, to Major-General Whish.

Camp, Mooltan, November 8, 1848.

ACCORDING to the arrangements made on the morning of the 7th instant, I proceeded with the force under my command, as per margin,* across the bridges over the nullah, on the right of the Allied Camp in the Sooraj Koond, in open column, flanking the enemy's position, brought our shoulders forward to the left, proceeding directly across their rear. When we had advanced sufficiently far to insure overlapping the most distant part of their position, we wheeled into line, three guns on the right, three on the left, the whole of the Cavalry (with the exception of a small party with the guns) on our right flank, between the line and Sultan Sudoola Gardens. The reserve, in quarter distance column, in rear of the centre of the right brigade, advanced steadily in echelon of brigade, at fifty paces distant from the right, under a smart fire of grape and round shot. At this moment, I ordered the Cavalry to attack a large body of the enemy who were moving to our right, and to prevent their removing their guns.

Major Wheler, in command of the Cavalry, advanced in the most brilliant manner, charged the enemy, cutting up numbers of them, taking a standard, and preventing the removal of the guns, swept the whole of our front, and re-forming speedily, and in good order on our left, moved off to cover the right. As the Cavalry cleared our front, the Horse Artillery opened their fire, the line charged, and took the position, with the whole of the guns, on the bank of the nullah, driving the enemy across, and up, it, with considerable loss. Our own loss in the whole affair (which lasted, from the time we wheeled into line till the enemy were completely routed, about an hour), being, as you will perceive by the accompanying returns, comparatively small. We then destroyed their batteries, and returned to camp.

The conduct of everybody, officers and men, was beyond all praise. To all I have to return my most sincere thanks for the manner in which my orders were carried out; to Lieutenant-Colonel Franks and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke, in command of brigades, for their cordial support; to Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Farquharson, Major Finnis, Major Inglis, Major Lloyd, and Captain Jamieson, for the steady manner in which they led their regiments into action. To Major Wheler, in command of the cavalry, and to Captain Anderson, in command of the Horse Artillery, my warmest thanks are due. To Major Napier, Chief Engineer, who accompanied me throughout the day, I am indebted more than I can express. Captain Abercrombie, who attended me personally, and the Engineer Officers who were attached to officers in command of brigades, and the officers in charge of Sappers and Pioneers, I have to thank for the ready assistance which they afforded. To Major Becher, Assistant Quartermaster General, my thanks are also

* DETAILS.

4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery.
 2 Squadrons 11th Regiment Light Cavalry.
 2 Squadrons 7th Irregular Cavalry.
 2 Squadrons 11th Irregular Cavalry.
 40 Sappers and Pioneers.
 Her Majesty's 10th Foot, 6 Companies.
 Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, 6 Companies.
 8th Regiment Native Infantry, 8 Companies.
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well the officers and men responded to the call. With a cheer, they charged with the utmost precision and rapidity, carrying all before them; but rapid and good as the charge was in itself, it was by great good fortune so timed as to be of essential service, for some of the squadrons charged immediately in the rear of the enemy's guns, preventing the line of infantry from being enfiladed. More than this, the enemy's mass of cavalry, not being apparently aware of our proximity, were staggered by the sudden advance, and never made a stand in a body, though parties of them showed a good front, till we were in amongst them. Some squadrons charged repeatedly, while others only charged once, but effectually preventing the guns from being carried off, though the attempt was made. Lieutenant Vibart, 11th Light Cavalry, captured a standard.

Where all behaved nobly, it were invidious to make distinctions. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself with bringing to the Brigadier's notice how much I am indebted to Captain I. Inglis, commanding 11th Light Cavalry; Captain Master, commanding 11th Irregular Cavalry; and Lieutenant Graham, commanding detail 7th Irregular Cavalry. To Captain J. Anderson, commanding 4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery, Brigadier Markham will understand how much we owe, and how difficult it must be for me to describe his movements, after he advanced with his four guns, simultaneously with the cavalry, but to me it seemed that, whether in the attack, or in dispersing parties of the enemy which attempted to re-form, or in the eventual retirement, his guns were always judiciously placed, and well served.

Lieutenant Taylor, of the Engineers, was kind enough to act as my staff on this occasion, and charged by my side.

The Brigadier will be happy to learn, from the accompanying casualty roll, that our loss in men is absolutely nothing, although the enemy, turning their guns, fired rounds of grape into us, as we advanced, or rather as we closed on them—fortunately hitting only the horses.

Inclosure 24 in No. 40.

Report of the Arrangement in the Engineer Department, for the Attack on the Enemy's position, in front of the Allied Camp, on the 7th of November, 1848.

Engineer Officers in attendance on the several Commanding Officers.

CAPTAIN ABERCROMBIE, in attendance on Brigadier Markham.

Lieutenant Maxwell, in attendance on Colonel Franks.

Lieutenant Taylor, in attendance on Brigadier Salter.

Lieutenant Glover, in attendance on Colonel Brooke.

A detail of Sappers, under Lieutenant Greathed, Engineers, and a similar detail of Pioneers, under Lieutenant McMullin, accompanied the columns, and after the capture of the position, effected the demolition of the principal batteries of the enemy. Lieutenant Garforth, Brigade-Major of Engineers, was in attendance with me, and superintended the above arrangements in a satisfactory manner.

Inclosure 25 in No. 40.

Major F. Mackeson, C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States, to the Secretary to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Ferozepore, November 10, 1848.

I FORWARD a deposition, taken before me, of Lena Sing, son of Golab Sing, who brought letters from the rebels Moolraj and Raja Shere Sing, for some of the protected chiefs, Cis-Sutlej.

The account given of himself, and his proceedings, by Lena Sing differs in some respects from that given of him by the Putteeala Maasahars. The letter he delivered at Putteeala, addressed to Teka Sing, was one out of seven he had with him—five of which he has now given in, and one of which he acknowledges to have delivered, through Jel Sing Chabrar, to Boodh Sing, the Bhaidwar Chief.

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Inclosure 27 in No. 40.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.**Lahore, November 11, 1848.*

I AM satisfied that the Governor-General will consider that Major Lawrence and Lieutenant Bowie maintained their position, as long as it was possible to do so, and that the ultimate defection of the Peshawur troops, in spite of all Major Lawrence's skilful management, in no way detracts from the merit that is due to him, for the judicious, and intrepid, conduct which has kept that force to their duty, so long after the rest of their brethren were all in open rebellion, and using every endeavour, by appealing to their patriotism, and their religion, to induce them to join the rebel standard.

Major Lawrence had a most difficult task to perform, and he performed it nobly.

I have several statements from native correspondents; they all ascribe the immediate outbreak to the intrigues of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and there seems no doubt that, if he had remained true to British interests, the schemes of the Sikh army might have been frustrated, or, at any rate, the Mahomedan portion of the force might have been kept from joining the rebellion.

The plan for sending the Meanee steamer up the Indus, and for Lieutenant Taylor's going to Dera Ismael Khan, was formed, and executed, at Mooltan, before I had an opportunity of expressing an opinion on its propriety; the main object was to bring off Mrs. Lawrence, who might, supposing the Barukzye Sirdar to aid in the project, easily reach Kalabagh from Kohat, and, after the departure of the Sikh army from Bunnoo, there was little danger to be apprehended, either to the steamer in navigating the Indus to Kalabagh, or to Lieutenant Taylor in passing through the Trans-Indus districts to Dera Ismael Khan.

It is probable that Sooltan Mahomed Khan, whatever may be his views with regard to Peshawur, will make a merit of aiding and befriending the Residency party,—and I trust this may be the case; but it is also to be apprehended that he may detain the party, either from a desire to conciliate the Sikhs, or for the purpose of negotiating terms with us for their release.

The native officers in Attock wrote confidently of its repelling any attack which Chuttur Sing may make upon it. If they are staunch, it would, doubtless, take the force with Chuttur Sing more time to reduce it, than they can spare, under present circumstances.

Inclosure 28 in No. 40.

*The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.**Lahore, November 15, 1848.*

I FORWARD three intercepted papers, bearing the seals of Shere Sing, Attareewalla, and Lal Sing, Morareea, addressed, respectively, to the British Sikh regiment stationed at Hoshiarpore, to Baba Bikrama Sing, the Bedee Chief in the Jullundur, and to the Sodees of Anundpore, in the Umballa district.

These papers were being carried by a Sikh messenger from the rebel camp, and were intercepted by the agency of Misr Rulla Ram and Sirdar Ram Sing, Jullawassia, at Goojranwalla, and sent to Captain Nicholson, in camp with General Campbell's division.

Inflammatory papers of similar purport, addressed to parties on this side of the Beas and Sutlej, are daily falling into my hands; but I consider it right to put these on record, and to send translations of them to the Government of India, as they, with the letters addressed by Shere Sing and the other rebel leaders, to the Maharajah of Putteeala and other Chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej Territory, fix, upon the chiefs concerned in the present insurrection, the crime of tampering with our subjects, and troops, beyond the limits of the Lahore State, and of endeavouring to excite revolt in our territories, and to induce our troops to rise against their Government, and to murder their officers, and commit other atrocious acts of hostility to the British power.

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Get possession of Hoshiarpore, and burn the Jullundur cantonment. Delay not—assistance will reach you; for Raja Golab Sing has joined us. Prithee Sing has come to us, on his part, with his troops.—Written on Tuesday 6th, Kartik.



Inclosure 32 in No. 40.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, November 17, 1848.

THE letters of Major Lawrence give the only authentic account I have, of the defection of the Peshawur force. I have, already, reported that Chuttur Sing, after endeavouring, for three months, to seduce the force to his interests, seemed to have just given up all hope of success, at the very moment when, through the intrigues of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brother, the determination had been made to join him.

There is no doubt that the Sikh portion of the force, with a few exceptions among the officers, have, all along, desired to join the rebels, on this side of the Indus; but, until they were assured of the aid of the Barukzye Sirdars, they dared not take any step openly in the matter. Had the Barukzye chiefs been faithful to British interests, the Mahomedan portion of the force would have resisted all attempts to seduce them from their duty, and the Sikhs dared not, in the midst of a Mahomedan population, and with so large a portion of the troops against them, to have made any hostile movement on the spot; and they could not desert, and join the rebels secretly, for they had no means of crossing the Indus, and dared not, in small numbers, and with a hue and cry after them, attempt to pass through the country.

As the Residency party is now in the power of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, it is of much importance to us to know what his purpose is, and what arrangements he has made, and is making, with the Sikhs. He is a thoroughly faithless miscreant, owing the position and influence he now possesses, entirely to the kindness of Sir H. M. Lawrence and his brother; but he is shrewd, and calculating, and will, at this moment, do that in respect to the Residency party, which will, in his opinion, lead most to promote his future interest. It is difficult to hold any communication with a person in his position; but I have taken measures for intimating to him that the British Government will hold him responsible for the safety and honorable treatment of the Residency party, and that, if any harm happens to them, or if they suffer any indignity of any kind, the vengeance of the British Government will pursue him to the last.

Lieutenant Taylor has written to Major Edwardes, from Dera Ismael Khan, if Sirdar Sooltan Mohamed Khan puts no obstacle in their way, the party may, easily, reach Mooltan, by the Meeanee steamer, which has been sent, by Major Edwardes, up the Indus, to bring them off.

No. 41.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Camp, Umballa, December 7, 1848. (No. 4.)

SINCE I last had the honor of addressing you from Delhi, on the 22nd ultimo, nothing of any importance has transpired in the Punjab.

Our public dispatches are, of course, closed from Peshawur, but private intelligence is occasionally received from the European officers, who were treacherously seized in that province. The latest private note, written by Lieutenant Bowie, who was sent as artillery instructor to Peshawur, was written in good spirits, and reported that all the party were well-treated, but kept under close surveillance. Mrs. Lawrence was, also, with Raja Chuttur Sing, who now has all the European prisoners in his custody. He was reported, on the 19th

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and of committing excesses, at a town called Goojranwalla, in the direction of Wuzeerabad, about thirty-six miles from Lahore. When the detachment, sent by Brigadier Campbell, was crossing the Ravee, I heard that the chief, who had been strengthening the defences of his fortified house for some days, and setting at defiance the party sent by the Durbar for his seizure, had suddenly, during the previous night, fled, with a few followers; and that the Durbar party, which was watching the house, attacked the fugitives, and killed the Sirdar's principal attendant.

I directed the detachment, under these circumstances, to stand fast on the other side of the river, and sent on Mr. Cocks, with a rissalah of Skinner's Horse, to ascertain the real state of the case, and to destroy the house, and seize the property of the Sirdar, if he had absconded.

Mr. Cocks has, this morning, returned from his errand. The Sirdar had fled, as stated. Mr. Cocks had a party of Sappers with him, and they blew up and destroyed the fortified house and its defences, and attached what property was found in the premises.

The Sirdar has, it is supposed, gone to join Chuttur Sing.

The detachment has returned to cantonments.

Inclosure 2 in No. 41.

The Adjutant-General to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Camp, Kalka, October 22, 1848.

I HAVE the honor, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit to you, for the information of the Governor-General of India, a copy of a despatch, of the 15th instant, from Brigadier H. M. Wheeler, C.B., commanding in the Julundur Doab, recounting the manner in which he effected the reduction of the fort of Rungur Nuggul.

The Commander-in-Chief has had much satisfaction in causing to be conveyed to Brigadier Wheeler, and to the troops employed on this occasion, an expression of his warmest approval of their conduct; and his Excellency has, moreover, had pleasure in congratulating the Brigadier in having effected the reduction of this strong place without any expenditure of life, which is entirely to be ascribed, in the opinion of Lord Gough, to the soldierlike and judicious arrangements that were made.

A return of casualties is inclosed.

Inclosure 3 in No. 41.

Brigadier Wheeler to the Adjutant-General.

Camp at Rungur Nuggul, October 15, 1848.

MY last was from the right bank of the Beas, on the 12th instant. I have now the honor to state, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that I marched, on the 13th, to Mehta, $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and encamped about three miles to the south of the fort; on the 14th, moved the camp to a good position, just clear of the enemy's fire, to the south-east of the fort; and, immediately after the whole had arrived, proceeded with the artillery to drive the enemy from the village; having previously sent the cavalry round to the northern and western faces, to take up distant positions, and watch any attempt that might be made at escape.

No sooner did the party in the village observe these movements, than it hastily abandoned it, and took to the fort, well pressed by a party of the Guide Corps, under Lieutenant W. S. Hodson.

I now turned my attention to the fort, and opened a fire of shell from the two 24-pound howitzers, and one 12, with an occasional round shot from a battery of

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Inclosure 4 in No. 41.

*Brigadier-General Wheeler to the Adjutant-General.**Camp, near Moraree, six miles north-west of Deenanuggur,
five south of the Ravee, October 25, 1848.*

THE Fort of Moraree was evacuated during the night, and is now in my possession.

Having reason to expect that they would evacuate the place during the night, I quietly moved with the troop and a (horse) battery of artillery, and the whole of the cavalry, at 7 P.M. from my camp at Jourah, for the purpose of keeping them in, but in vain.

It is a paltry place, and would have offered no resistance, although several zumboorahs are mounted on the walls.

I should state, that I had ordered Major Fisher to move, with 120 sowars, of the 15th Irregular Cavalry from Mookerian, to cooperate with the party of the corps of guides under Lieutenant W. S. Hodson, in the endeavour to prevent the escape of the enemy; that he arrived on the morning of the 24th instant; and, though most energetic and zealous, was unsuccessful in his efforts.

Inclosure 5 in No. 41.

*Major Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.**Kohat, November 8, 1848.*

WITH advertence to my letter of the 25th ultimo*, detailing the occurrences which led to my departure from Peshawur, and arrival here, I report that, up to this date, I have not been able to obtain from Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan the written agreement alluded to in that communication, nor have I, in any way, succeeded in inducing him to fulfil his promise of conveying us to a British post.

It would seem that the Sirdar, having succeeded in his project of ejecting us from Peshawur, and obtaining possession of our persons, has altogether lost sight of the solemn engagement upon which I chiefly relied in placing myself in his power.

I have written to him, repeatedly, without effect; and, for some days past, his son, Sirdar Khoja Mahomed, doubtless by orders, has evidently viewed us in the light of prisoners, not permitting us to go abroad without a guard, and having our residence vigilantly watched, day and night. The few urbobs, who accompanied us from Peshawur, were quickly ordered to return, and the servants we left behind, have not, as yet, been allowed to join us.

Such is their jealousy, and so vigilantly are we guarded, that, although only forty miles distant, we experience great difficulty in holding any communication with our friends at Peshawur, every man coming to, or going from, us, being strictly searched.

Sirdar Peer Mahomed Khan, on the 25th, having given up to the Sikhs the boats I placed under his charge, Sirdar Chuttur Sing, with some officers and a small escort, crossed the Indus at the Bazour ferry, near Jhangera, and made a formal entry, under royal salutes, into Peshawur, on the 3rd instant—all the Barukzye brothers, and their sons, with the officers of the force, meeting him at different distances from the city. Colonel Khan Sing Rosa is said to be the chief of the Peshawur troops, and to have been made a Sirdar.

At a grand Durbar, Chuttur Sing made over the province to Sirdars Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Peer Mahomed Khan, from whom he is said to have received between one and two lakhs of rupees for the gift; the latter was made ostensibly the ruler, though it is well known the former is virtually so. We are said to have been demanded, but the reply was, that we should be kept prisoners till Lahore was taken, when we should be at the disposal of the Sikhs.

The Barukzye brothers have already commenced collecting the revenue,

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In this respect, I have had a hard task to reconcile the rival claims of our numerous Mahomedan allies in the Nawab's and my own forces, and of the Sikh and Hindoo servants of the Durbar. The latter have a holy horror of shedding a cow's blood, and the former as holy an appetite for beef. The treaty obliges me, as a magistrate in the Punjab, to enforce against our friends the most obnoxious prejudice of our enemies.

Still more difficult has it been, to be obliged to request Major-General Whish to forbid the slaughter of kine in his camp, in order that no hungry Mussulman, detected with a steak, might tell me, that he bought it in the shambles of an European regiment.

The general, however, quite coincides with me in the duty of acting up to the treaty.

It is remarkable that the Kuthar Mookhee regiment was the only one of the three regular corps under General Cortlandt which was not with me in the fights of Kineyree and Suddoosain.

Inclosure 8 in No. 41.

Major Edwardes to Major-General Whish.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, November 9, 1848.

I FORWARD Lieutenant Pollock's report of the events of the night of the 6th of November, at the battery in front of your camp.

There is no doubt that the defection of the men of the Kuthar Mookhee was premeditated, as those who went had packed up, and taken with them, their most valuable property to the battery, which they would not have done, had they meant to return.

The number of the deserters was 220. At first, half the regiment was reported to have gone; but this originated in the conspirators having called on their other comrades to charge over the entrenchment, when the rebels approached; which they did, but separated themselves from the traitors, and returned to their own camp, as soon as they found out the truth.

The men were all Hindoo, and chiefly from Lucknow; and I am happy to learn that a large proportion of them met a speedy and just retribution in the action of the next day, which their own treachery hurried on.

Inclosure 9 in No. 41.

Major Edwardes to Major-General Whish.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, November 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to report such details of the action of the 7th of November, as concerned the irregular auxiliary force under command of myself and Lieutenant Lake.

You will remember that it was decided, at the meeting of staff-officers in your tent, between 4 and 6 A.M. on the 7th of November, that, as about half of one of General Cortlandt's regular regiments had deserted to the enemy during the night, from the battery in front of your camp, it was not advisable to risk entrusting to the irregular force that part of the British attack for which they had been told off over night; while, at the same time, an immediate victory was deemed so indispensable as to require a single attack by the British column, which was finally arranged to come off at 10 A.M.

I left your tent at about half-past 6, and had scarcely reached my own, before a sharp musketry fire opened, at our advanced battery on the nullah; and, growing hotter and hotter, soon proved to be an open attack upon that post by the rebels, in such force as, at one time, to drive completely back the 500 Puthans who held it, and turn the inner flank of the eight-gun battery at the well, 400 yards in front of our camp. The conduct of the gunners, at this trying moment, deserves mention. They drew back their guns from the embrasures, and bringing them to bear on the enemy issuing from the nullah.

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His humanity, however, was, perhaps, never more conspicuous than yesterday, when he saved the lives of many wounded Sikhs upon the field.

No. 1.

RETURN of Killed in the Irregular Force, from the 1st to the 6th of November.

Name of Camp.	Killed.		Wounded.	
	men.	horses.	men.	horses.
Sheik Emamooddeen's	10	4	37	..
Foujdar Khan, Futtch Shere Khan, and Kaloo Khan's	9	..	43	..
infantry				1
Ditto cavalry .. .. .	..	..	..
General Cortlandt's three regiments and artillery..	8	2	26	..
Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt	5	1	14	1
Misr Sahib Dyal's camp of Rohillas	3	..	8	..
Nawab Bahawul Khan's force	2	1	15	..
	37	8	143	2

No. 2.

RETURN of Killed and Wounded on the 7th of November, 1848, in the action of Sooraj Koond.

Name of Camp.	Killed.		Wounded.	
	men.	horses.	men.	horses.
Sheik Emamooddeen's	5	4	30	..
Foujdar Khan, Futtch Shere Khan, and Kaloo Khan's	11	..	41	..
infantry				
Ditto cavalry	4	1	10	..
General Cortlandt's three regiments and artillery..	12	..	49	..
Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt	2	5	3	..
Misr Sahib Dyal's camp of Rohillas .. .. .	..	..	1	..
Nawab Bahawul Khan's force	5	..	38	..
	39	10	172	..

Inclosure 10 in No. 41.

Lieutenant Pollock to Major Edwardes.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, November 9, 1848.

AGREEABLY to your instructions I left the irregular camp, on Monday-night about 10 o'clock P.M., with the Kuthar Mookhee Regiment, 500 of your Murkhas, and about 1,000 of Bahawul Khan's men, the latter accompanied by Lieutenant Lake. Lieutenant Paton of the Engineers came, also, to escort us to the British advanced battery. As our party approached the British camp, a sowar rode up to Lieutenant Lake, and, calling him aside, informed him that the Kuthar Mookhee Regiment had left their own party, and were going over to the enemy. As the men of that regiment were close behind us, and we knew the orders they had received, we concluded that the sowar was laboring under a mistake, and continued our march.

On arriving at the battery, we found that the guns were being withdrawn*, and proceeded to post our people in the trenches, previously guarded by the regulars, placing more men at each point than they had done, our party being considerably stronger. When our arrangements for the defence of the position

* With the exception of two Horse Artillery guns, under Lieutenant Bunny, on the left of the battery.

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Chunda Mull, the Nawab's principal officer, of Moizoddeen Khan, a commandant of eighteen hundred, and of Khoora Buksh, Shere Khan, and Mundoo Khan, all commanders of three hundred. I should be glad if, by addressing these individuals direct, or by bringing their names to the favorable notice of the Nawab, you could let them know that their services were appreciated.

Inclosure 12 in No. 41.

Lieutenant Lake to Major-General Whish.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, November 9, 1848.

AS by the plan of attack determined upon by you, against Moolraj's entrenched position, the duty of protecting the British advanced post, during the night of the 6th, devolved upon the irregular force, I proceeded at 9 P.M. to that post, to make arrangements for its occupation. The party told off for this duty were 500 of Lieutenant Edwardes' Irregulars, 1000 of the Bahawulpore troops, and the Kuthar Mookhee Regiment, all placed under the command of Lieutenant Pollock. It was midnight before the parties were properly posted; and, as the enemy were then perfectly quiet, I returned to camp, that I might be present, with the main body of my troops, during the contemplated attack on the 7th. For an account of what occurred after my departure, I would refer you to Lieutenant Pollock; I cannot, however, but express my satisfaction at the conduct of the Bahawulpore detachment, who, when they found themselves deserted by large numbers of the Kuthar Mookhee, not only showed no inclination to abandon their post, but repelled an attack made upon them by the Sikhs. This I attribute to Lieutenant Pollock's gallant conduct, who was with them on this trying occasion, and, by his example, restored confidence to all parties.

The defection of the Kuthar Mookhee soldiers became generally known by daylight of the 7th, and produced a very disheartening effect upon the whole of the Nawab's army. Some of his officers counselled an immediate retreat, and separation from the rest of the Irregular force; at this juncture, Moolraj's troops made an attack upon our advanced post. Our men gave way; the reinforcements I ordered to their support, did not move with alacrity; our position seemed to be in imminent danger; when, some of General Cortlandt's guns opened grape upon the enemy's advancing column, upon which, at the same time, a flanking fire was brought, by a party of Daoodpotras I sent across the nullah. The enemy, who had, hitherto, advanced, now halted, when a simultaneous rush, made by some Rohillas, and some companies of General Cortlandt's regiments, decided the struggle, and the rebels fled in confusion to their own trenches.

When, at a later period in the day, the British troops had crossed the nullah in front of our camp, and advanced to the attack, the Bahawulpore army, also, moved down, with the remainder of the irregular force, and occupied the enemy's trenches directly in their front. They met with little, or no, resistance.

During the day, the Bahawulpore army suffered a loss of five killed and thirty-eight wounded; of these, the greater number of casualties occurred during the attack on our own camp.

On this occasion, as on every other, I derived the greatest assistance from Peer Ibraheem Khan, the native agent. I feel I cannot speak too highly of his exertions, not only on the 7th, but for six days preceding.

It would be out of place to bring to your notice the conduct of those officers of the Nawab's army, who distinguished themselves on this occasion. I cannot, however, omit mentioning that, during the attack on our camp, Dewan Chunda Mull (the Nawab's chief officer) behaved with the greatest courage and presence of mind.

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avail himself of the opportunity, no subsequent events can remove the responsibility from his shoulders.

I have received your directions to consider the "bringing away Mrs. Lawrence, the sole object of my expedition." At one time, I hoped that I might be fortunate enough to assist the retreat of the whole party, but a new and formidable difficulty has arisen, which, I fear, is likely to frustrate the attempt. All that I am doing in the way of settling this district, and trying to bring Murwut under control, I look upon as mere by-play; but if it results in clearing the atmosphere of those two districts from the presence of the enemy, and enabling a small irregular force to hold them, and collect their revenues; hold all the boats of the Indus, from Kalabagh downwards; and make the annoyance of these well-disposed provinces the work of a considerable force; the time and trouble expended on it will not be thrown away. The instant that, I hear, distinctly, that there is no hope of succeeding, in any degree, in the real object of my journey, I shall turn my thoughts rearwards, and, making the best arrangements I can, for the management of these districts, wend my own way back to Mooltan.

I wrote, many days ago, to Lieutenant Herbert, in Attock, saying that I was totally ignorant of his state and prospects, and merely wrote to tell him that the river route was open, if he wished to take it.

Esakhail, November 14, 1848.

P.S. Late last night, one of Allyar Khan's men arrived, sent by the Mullick himself, to inform me that, on Major Lawrence transmitting to the Sirdar, who was at Peshawur, my first letter, with the request to be immediately conveyed to Kalabagh, the latter sent off two of his sons to Kohat, with directions to convey the males of the party, Major Lawrence, Lieutenant Bowie, and Dr. Thompson, at once, to Peshawur. The Mullick's man had himself gone on Friday, the 10th, to Kohat, to gain information, and arriving there, in the afternoon, found that Major Lawrence and the rest had been carried off, in the morning. Sirdar Chuttur Sing is reported to be still at Peshawur, but Sooltan Mahomed Khan, false double-dealing intriguer as he is, cannot, I trust, prove cowardly ruffian enough to surrender the man who procured his release from irksome durance at Lahore, and restored him to his home, into the hands of the Sikhs. The rights of hospitality and faith, sworn to on the Koran, are things held in some esteem, even by the Affghan Sirdars, and, if he violates them, I trust he will render his own ruin as certain as it will be deserved. I am induced to think that knowing how feasible the plan for bringing off the party was, and how little excuse he would have for not performing his part of the matter, he has invented some new difficulty to serve as a pretext for removing his prisoners from the neighbourhood of help; and I fear my attempt has merely led to the division of the previously comparatively happy party at Kohat, and, perhaps, the substitution of the Peshawur fort for a prison-house, in place of the quiet little country house at Kohat. I did not think Sooltan Mahomed Khan fool enough to pin his faith on men who have been defeated, six times, in the last eight months, and, in the course of those operations, have lost seventeen pieces of cannon.

I have just sent men to Peshawur, to ascertain the fate, and prospects, of the captives.

Inclosure 14 in No. 41.

Major Lawrence to Lieutenant Herbert.

Camp, Peshawur, November 13, 1848.

SIRDAR SOOLTAN MAHOMED KHAN having given myself, Lieutenant Bowie, and Mr. Thompson, over to Sirdar Chuttur Sing, we arrived in the Sikh camp, on the 11th instant, where we were received by Sirdar Chuttur Sing, who met us at some miles distance, with several officers of rank, and paid us every honorary attention.

We are strictly guarded, but otherwise well treated in every respect; and as Sirdar Chuttur Sing has promised to have my family safely conducted to Jummoo, Syedpore, Rawul Pindee, or any other secure position, deeming it desirable that we should be altogether, I have given Mrs. Lawrence the option of joining me, which I expect she will do to-morrow.

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repaired during the day and night. The enemy kept up a desultory fire all day, doing, I am thankful to say, no material injury.

The main camp was halted yesterday, but, early this morning, it moved so as to lie close under the hills. Some men have been about, as if arranging spots to erect batteries, and a few shells were fired upon the fort, from a gun in a hollow, screened from sight.

I presume they will endeavour to erect batteries on the land side, during the course of the ensuing night.

I should take this opportunity to report that, having received frequent hints that Commander Futteh Khan was in correspondence with the enemy, and meditated treachery, I deemed it absolutely necessary, a few days ago, to send him from the fort.

I gave the artillerymen (except the Sikhs whom I expelled) the option of accompanying him to the Sikh camp, or remaining to serve the British Government, promising that, if they accepted the latter, they should be considered entitled to the rewards given to the soldiers of the Company's army.

I have, also, given a promise of reward, and protection, to the Puthans and their families, for service to the end of the war, and they have, in return, sworn fidelity on the Koran.

Your private letter of the 2nd instant to Major Lawrence has just reached, and the news contained in it of the advance of troops, is most acceptable, and has given a stimulus to all.

Inclosure 18 in No. 41.

Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.

Esakhail, November 18, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter, received this morning, from Mullick Allyar Khan of Kalabagh, inclosing a communication from a private friend of his own at Kohat, from which it appears that Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan has actually been villain enough to give up the whole of his prisoners to Sirdar Chuttur Sing. I can scarcely yet believe it; another day will bring me intelligence from Peshawur itself, I hope. A havildar of the guides whom I dispatched many days ago, has been seen making his way back to me; he will be able to give me certain information on the subject. The impression among those about me is, that Chuttur Sing has insisted on this, in order that he may negotiate the release of his son Golab Sing, and of the Ranee. I remember, when Sirdar Chuttur Sing first rebelled, on my expressing to Sirdar Jhunda Sing, connected with the former by marriage, or rather betrothal, my astonishment at so old and wise a man being guilty of so rash a step, he replied, that it was certainly "very extraordinary so wise a man, and hitherto so faithful, and the devoted servant of the Ranee." I took no notice of the remark, at the time, but have since thought it might prove the key to Chuttur Sing's conduct, during the whole affair.

When the news, received to-day, is confirmed, my object in remaining here will be removed, and I intend to proceed, viâ Lukkee, to Dera Ismael Khan, and from thence to Mooltan, in time to meet the Bombay columns.

The officers of the Lukkee garrison have come in to me, and, I believe, fully intended to give up the fort, but, on returning to do so with my thannah, the soldiers manned the walls, and told them to keep off. This is extremely inconvenient, as the garrison is strong; they have two guns, a mortar, and zumboorahs, and a strong little fort to defend, while this irregular force has no means and appliances for taking it; as, however, the whole of the Mullicks of Murwut have come in to me here, and have professed their perfect allegiance, I intend to march into the district to assume the civil management of it, without reference to the recusant thannah in the fort; I think the latter will yield after a time, and then the gain will be great, as all enemies will be cleared out of this side of the river, and, with the boats removed, all will be safe.

Meer Alum Khan, the rebel occupant of Duleepgurh in Bunnoo, writes to me that he is only holding the fort till I come, but that he would not advise my coming, just at present, as there are thousands of Wuzeerees and Dourees

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from Kangra, and 500 from Hajeepore, are advancing on Puthankote, with the disadvantage of this latter place being so situated, that the two forces can hardly join, without being attacked, singly, by an enterprising enemy.

I leave this, to-morrow morning, for Mookerian, with four guns of the European troop of Horse Artillery, which, at my request, Colonel Wilkinson has placed at my disposal, and with 300 men of Major Hodgson's Sikh Corps.

I have, also, after consulting with that officer, written to Kurtapore, for one squadron of the 10th Cavalry to march on Mookerian, and shall take them on, or not, with reference to the information I acquire there. If I find that the rebels are in great force, and that more troops are necessary, I shall propose to the officer commanding at Hajeepore, to place one company in the fort of Mookerian to guard the ladies of the corps and valuable property, and to take on the four companies with us.

I understand that the insurgents are reported to have with them Lal Sing, Morareea, Bisemer Sing, and other petty Sirdars, as well as Ram Sing, the son of the Noorpoor vuzeer. It is said that they have plundered Sojanpore, and other places in the Sikh territory, as well as several of the British villages on the frontier.

I take the liberty of suggesting that, while the Commander-in-Chief and so large a portion of the army are engaged, beyond the Chenab, and probably, eventually, on the other side of the Jhelum, it would be expedient to have a brigade moving up and down the northern portion of the Baree Doab, between Deenanuggur and Buttala, and another brigade of the reserve force at Puti, so as to command its southern portion. These troops would, thus, overrun the whole of the Baree Doab, and yet protect our own territory. It is the general opinion among intelligent natives who are well inclined to Government, that the Sikhs will endeavour to avoid pitched battles, but break up into small detachments, to ravage and plunder the country, uniting when it may appear advantageous, and separating when pursued. If such should be the case, it is of great moment that the frontier, and rear of the scene of operations, should be well secured.

I, further, beg to add, that the frontier, from Nowshera on the Beas, up to the Hills, is completely exposed to depredation. There are, still, but three companies at Noorpoor, no portion of which are available for the field. The Irregular Cavalry corps, which was stationed at Mookerian, has gone on service, leaving but 40 men, I hear, in their lines, some of whom are temporarily unfit for service. Any force moving towards Puthankote, labors under the disadvantage of having to cross the Beas, and march with their flank exposed, and, therefore, should have a respectable cavalry force with them. In the whole Doab, there is now but the 10th Light Cavalry, a wing of which is at Jullundur, and another at Kurtarpore; I would suggest that the one at Kurtarpore be transferred to Mookerian, until the irregulars returned from service.

Inclosure 21 in No. 41.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, November 23, 1848.

IT is with very great regret that I forward letters, this day received from Major Edwardes at Mooltan, and Lieutenant Taylor at Esakhail, on the Indus, reporting the removal of Major Lawrence, Lieutenant Bowie, and Sub-Assistant Surgeon Thompson, from Kohat to Peshawur, on the night of the 11th instant.

A servant of Syud Ali Reza Kham, one of our Affghan pensioners, residing at Lahore, arrived from Peshawur, about an hour before I received Major Edwardes' letter. He was with Major Lawrence at Kohat, and was present when he arrived at Peshawur, on the 12th instant: his account is very circumstantial. From this man's statement, which appears true, there seems no doubt that Sooltan Mahomed Khan has really made over Major Lawrence, Lieutenant Bowie, and Dr. Thompson, to Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

It is scarcely to be believed, that the perfidious Affghan would do this; the motives mentioned by Major Edwardes would, one would have thought, have prevented him. He must really believe that the Sikhs are likely to be shortly more powerful in the Punjab, than the British.

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Should the British desire to know the whole particulars, they will find them in the annexed points, which will clearly show the origin of all the disturbances which have arisen. When these remarks are taken carefully into consideration, and with a view to the stability of Maharajah Duleep Sing's kingdom, and the preservation of the good name of the British, these disturbances will, immediately, be put a stop to.

Detail of points urged by Raja Shere Sing and the Sirdars of his Camp.

Maharajah Runjeet Sing preserved an unbroken friendship with the British, for the space of thirty-five years, without regard to expense, or loss, to himself. At the time of the Cabool campaign, he deputed Koonwur Nao Nehal Sing and the principal Sirdars of the State, to accompany the British troops to Peshawur, with orders to afford every possible aid and assistance. This he did, under the impression that it would tend to strengthen the friendship which existed between him and the British Government.

In like manner, Maharajah Khurruck Sing and Koonwur Nao Nehal Sing kept up the friendly relations which had existed previously; on Mr. Clerk sending for the Ghilzies, they were immediately forwarded under the care of Fukeer Azeezooddeen; and, subsequently, on Mr. Clerk's request, Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan was sent to him, by Koonwur Nao Nehal Sing's orders, under charge of Dewan Hakim Race.

Subsequently, Maharajah Shere Sing sent his troops under Sirdar Golab Sing, Povindea, to accompany the British army to Cabool; while, at the same time, Koonwur Purtab Sing and Raja Golab Sing were deputed to Peshawur to give assistance in procuring supplies, ammunition, &c. This friendly aid was given, until the arrival of the British troops at Ferozepore.

In the treaty made with Maharajah Runjeet Sing, it was arranged that the Sikh Government should have permission, on giving notice to the British Government, to send 200 or 300 sowars, and a gun, across the Sutlej to punish refractory zemindars. On one occasion, Sirdar Joala Sing, Purdhanian, accompanied by 1,000 sowars and two guns, crossed the river, and inflicted such severe punishment on the people of Kotkupoora, that, from that time, no one dared to create a disturbance.

In the time of Maharajah Duleep Sing, Dewan Hakim Race, with 100 sowars, was sent across the river, for the purpose of repressing the disturbances then existing beyond the Sutlej, and putting a stop to the prevailing system of murder and highway robbery. In the meantime, an insurrection arose among the Khalsa troops, and Raja Heera Sing was killed. An additional 100 sowars were sent to the assistance of Hakim Race, who was unable to deal with the zemindars. As this was imagined to be contrary to the treaty, they were not suffered to cross, and their officers were maltreated. In consequence of this, the revenue of the Cis-Sutlej States, estimated at eighteen lakhs, was lost, and the authority of the Sikh Government over the country was put an end to, by the interference of the British Government, who disregarded the terms of friendship, which formerly existed.

When the Sikh army, heedless of the tender age of the Maharajah, and the respect due to the Maharanee, marched, without leaders, and contrary to the counsels of the Sirdars, across the river, they were defeated, and overthrown by the British, who advanced to this side of the Sutlej, and encamped at Kusoor. Raja Golab Sing, Raja Deena Nath, and Bhace Ram Sing waited on the Governor-General, and explained the disobedience of orders of the Sikh army, upon which, his Lordship, in consideration of the helplessness of the Maharajah and the Maharanee, directed that the sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees should be paid to defray the expenses incurred in the war. As the Maharanee and Maharajah had nothing to do with what had taken place, which solely originated with the army, who had been punished for their temerity, this arrangement of the Governor-General could merely have been to attain certain ends. If the army had not been sufficiently punished, the Governor-General should have inflicted further castigation upon them. That man is not a friend who assists merely in the time of strength and power; but his friendship is to be depended on, who takes your hand, in the moment of weakness.

When the Maharajah went to Lullianee to pay his respects to the Governor-

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Again, Mool Sing, who was a common moonshee on thirty rupees a month, in the service of Sirdar Hure Sing, and, subsequently, in that of Jemadar Khosal Sing, has been raised to a position of great importance, and is entirely in the confidence of the Resident. This has greatly grieved, and disgusted, the Sirdars and others.

Dewan Moolraj, whose father Sawun Mull, for many years, ruled the province of Mooltan, with great reputation, and whose good service has frequently been mentioned, and praised, by the British, seeing the disorder that prevailed in the kingdom, sent in his resignation; and, on Mr. Agnew's being deputed to receive charge of the province from him, made over the fort, and all its ammunition, and stationed that officer's guards inside. By chance, a wretched soldier, without the instigation, or advice, of the Dewan, murdered Mr. Agnew, and, by degrees, the affair acquired its present importance. The sepoy is, to this day, a prisoner in the fort.

By the evil counsel of Tej Sing, a force was sent against Bhace Maharaj Sing, who was a fakcer, and the spiritual preceptor of the Khalsa, and who, in no way, interfered with the affairs of government; and the villages of Kariala, &c. were burnt and sacked. This was pure oppression and tyranny, and has excited the indignation of the whole of the Khalsa.

Many Sirdars, who were of great consideration in the time of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, have, through the instigation of Raja Tej Sing and Mool Sing, been degraded, imprisoned, and even hung; receiving a severe punishment for even a trifling offence. This treatment has caused great apprehension to both Hindoos and Mussulmans, who fear lest they should incur similar undeserved punishment.

The affair in Hazara originated solely in the injustice and oppression exercised by Captain Abbott against Sirdar Chuttur Sing; much might be said on this point, but it is not necessary to allude to all the particulars, at present, at full length.

Notwithstanding that the British Government has nothing to do with the management of affairs in the Punjab, not a single order is issued, except when bearing the Resident's signature.

This is contrary to the spirit of the treaty, made by the British Government with the Lahore State.

Although the army of the Khalsa received severe punishment at the hands of the British, Raja Tej Sing proclaimed, in open Durbar, that the hair and beards of all the Khalsa should be cut off. Such a speech was highly offensive to the Sikhs, and has caused general indignation.

In every former, and in the present, treaty, it was stipulated that the crime of cow killing should be severely punished. In Maharajah Runjeet Sing's time the penalty was hanging; and, in the code promulgated by the British, the punishment is imprisonment, for life, or for a term of years. No punishment, however, is inflicted upon those who transgress in this point, which is clearly contrary to all notions of friendship, and is in opposition to the faith of the Khalsa.

In Peshawur, Major George Lawrence, through enmity, and opposition to the Sikhs, removed the guns from the Khalsa troops, and collected 4000 or 5000 of the Moolkias to attack them at night, whereas the Sikhs had never disobeyed, or acted contrary to his orders.

When Raja Shere Sing, with the Sirdars and the troops, were deputed to Mooltan, to assist Major Edwardes, they implicitly followed the directions of that officer, in no way deviating from his orders. In fact, Major Edwardes, in writing to the Resident, expressed his approval of their behaviour. In accordance with Major Edwardes' orders, Soojan Sing, Alloowalla, who was a Sirdar, was blown away from a gun, notwithstanding that such condign punishment is opposed to the customs of the Khalsa. By this conduct, they hoped to have obtained credit for themselves, but instead, they became objects of suspicion and want of confidence, which was shown by Major Edwardes directing the Sirdars to remove their troops to a distance from the British camp. Consequently, all the troops became dispirited and grieved, and, at length, resolved to join Dewan Moolraj. Had Major Edwardes not shown this want of confidence, the Sikhs would never have gone over.

Major Edwardes wrote to all the Puthan zemindars, on the other side of the Indus, directing them to join him to oppose the Sikhs, and promising to

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At Mookerian, I heard that Major Simpson had called for support from Boodh Pind, and that a wing of the 71st Native Infantry, and two nine-pounders, which had marched to his aid, had crossed the Beas, and moved, viâ Deenanuggur, towards Puthankote; but the officer in command, on hearing of the retreat of the insurgents, retraced his steps to Mookerian. At Major Simpson's request, whom I had asked to remain at Puthankote, I have requested the officer commanding the 71st Native Infantry to allow two companies of the 71st Native Infantry to garrison Hajeepore, and sent the remainder of the detachment, and guns, back to Boodh Pind.

Yesterday, the 25th, having ascertained from my spies that a portion of the insurgents, to the number of about 300, were at Deenanuggur, that they had plundered, and murdered several people, and were raising men in every direction, I determined to make an attempt to disperse them. I, accordingly, wrote to Major Ferris, C. B., of the 2nd Sikh Local Infantry, and to Major Simpson of the 29th Native Infantry, requesting them to make a night march from Puthankote, so as to cut the enemy off from retreat by the Ravee, and, with 300 men of Major Hodgson's Sikh Corps, two guns under Major Waller, and 100 horse, I crossed the Beas last night, and marched on the insurgent camp. We arrived between six and seven o'clock, one hour too late to catch them all asleep. As it was, we came on them, and they turned out to fight, but were dispersed by a few rounds from the Horse Artillery. Unfortunately, Major Ferris' march had been so delayed by the difficulties of the road, that his force arrived later by an hour than we did, which enabled the enemy to effect their retreat. We killed, however, several of them, and wounded others, taking prisoners some fourteen or fifteen (the return I have not yet obtained), and among others a noted character of Shahpoor, in the Kangra District, who was one of Ram Sing's chief aiders in the late disturbance at Noorpoor. I may here observe that the Sikh corps, though knowing that they were going against Sikhs, evinced the greatest spirit and alacrity on the occasion.

Could I have staid here a few days, I think I might have done some good, and arrested a number of the ringleaders of the insurgents, but, yesterday, I heard, from Mr. G. Barnes, that the Raja of Muhlmore, the representative of the old Katoch Rajas, has occupied the Palace at Teera, seized, and confined the police, fired a royal salute, and is raising men for rebellion. Mr. Barnes started, this morning, with half the Hill Corps which had come down from Kangra, and the other half follow, to-morrow, from this place. I can hardly yet believe that the Raja can mean to rebel. He is, physically and mentally, (though but a young man) utterly unsuited for such an enterprise. He, and his late brother, whom he succeeded, were rescued from poverty and contempt by the British Government, and made free and independent. He has, personally, been on the most friendly footing with both Mr. Barnes and myself, from whom he has invariably received kindness and attention.

I also regret to have, further, to report that I have, this day, received an express from Mr. C. Saunders, at Hoshiarpore, informing me that the old Raja of Jeswan has rebelled, and seized the Rissaldar and Thannadar of Umb. This old chief was not only confirmed in all his estates by Government, but actually obtained a pension of 6,000 rupees a year for his own, and his son's, life, besides all the expenses which he was supposed to have incurred during the late war. He is weak even to imbecility, but his son, and some of his chief servants are disreputable and intriguing characters, but I never imagined could prove dangerous.

Inclosure 27 in No. 41.

Roobukaree of the Resident at Lahore, November 27, 1848.

A DOCUMENT purporting to have been signed and sealed by the following persons:

Shere Sing, Attareewala.
Ootar Sing, Attareewala.
Ram Sing, Chappeewala.
Lal Sing, Morareea.

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insurgent camp. He is a clever, but intriguing, man, and is the person of whose mission to Cashmere some mention is made, in the papers regarding the investigation into the conduct of Raja Lal Sing.

Inclosure 29 in No. 41.

Mr. Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Hajepore, November 28, 1848.

MY letter of the 26th instant will have made you acquainted with the state of affairs on the line of the Beas; on that evening, I received a note from you, through Lieutenant Hodson, apprizing me that Brigadier Wheeler had been directed to march towards the Ravee. Lieutenant Hodson also informed me that he would be at Nurotc, twelve miles from Deenanuggur, next day. This information determined me to return, at once, to Mookerian. I requested Major Ferris to march back, to support Mr. Barnes in his movement on Teera; Major Simpson with the right wing of the 29th Native Infantry, to return to Hajepore, to secure that part of the Doon; and I have left two companies of the 29th Native Infantry, and 60 sowars, at Puthankote. I consider that it would be highly expedient that Brigadier Wheeler should cross the Ravee, to keep in order the turbulent Sikh population in the northern part of the Baree Doab. Such a movement will not only keep that tract tranquil, but secure the whole line of the Beas in that quarter, as well as the country up to Noorpoor.

On my arrival, yesterday morning, at Mookerian, I learnt that the son and vuzeer of the Jeswan Raja had plundered the revenue, and police, stations at Umb, eighteen miles north of Hoshiarpore, and was collecting armed men from all sides, and had taken possession of the Naree pass, which leads to Hoshiarpore. It was then believed that Bedee Bikrama Sing, of Oonah, the great Priest of the Sikhs, had, or at any rate would join them. Mr. C. Saunders informed me that Colonel Wilkinson, commanding at Hoshiarpore, had ordered up a troop of light cavalry from Jullundur, as well as three companies of infantry.

After consulting with Majors Waller and Hodgson, I determined on the following movements:—

To march with the four-horse artillery guns, 500 of the Sikh corps, which Major Hodgson considers perfectly staunch, two companies of the 71st Native Infantry who were at Mookerian, and 70 horse, by Hajepore, on Umb. By this movement we turn all the passes from the plains, and sweep the whole line of the Doon, or valley, above the lower range of hills. We arrived here this morning; to-morrow (29th) we shall be at Tullwara; 30th at Dungoh, and, on the 1st of December, be at Umb, in front of the insurgents. I have asked Colonel Wilkinson to dispatch three companies to the foot of the Naree pass, to threaten them on that side, and, if safe, to make a simultaneous movement, on the morning of the 1st, on Umbota, a village at the head of the pass, which we shall attack, on our side.

On our arrival this day, we received letters from Hoshiarpore, from Mr. C. Saunders, informing us that the Bedee of Oonah had certainly joined the rebels, who had completely destroyed the roads by the Naree and Chenée passes. Raja Nurain Pal and the Sikh Sirdar of Suntokhgurh, the only remaining Jagheerdars of the eastern Doon, are said to remain faithful. The above news which I had expected, only confirms me in the expediency of my present plans. The Raja of Dutarpoor, on the western side, has evinced his fidelity, by assisting the police, and the Raja of Seeba, the only remaining chief in the Doon, has, as yet, remained quiet.

I do not know what troops are at Loodiana, and do not wish to send any requisitions which might impede the military authorities at that station, but I shall suggest to Colonel Wilkinson, the senior officer in the territory, in the absence of Brigadier Wheeler, the propriety of having any troops, now at Loodiana, destined for this side the river, moved across.

Mr. Barnes writes to me, from Noorpoor, (26th) that he still thinks he will be able to bring the Muhlmooree Raja to reason. Neither he, nor his people had yet committed any outrages, and it was Mr. Barnes' opinion, that the Raja's acts had originated in hostility to his uncle, Raja Jodbeer Sing of Nadown,

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Inclosure 32 in No. 41.

The Resident at Lahore to the Commander-in-Chief.

Lahore, November 30, 1848.

THESE outbreaks, at this time, in the hills beyond the Jummoo boundary tend to make the complicity of Maharajah Golab Sing, in the present insurrection, the more to be suspected, and demand the greater caution in all our proceedings.

The Maharajah has a force of about 3000 men of all arms at Minawur, between the Chenab and Jhelum, ostensibly for the purpose of cooperating with your Lordship, if called upon, in accordance with the stipulation of his treaty. He will, I think, take care that these troops commit no act of hostility, though they could not be depended on, perhaps, to act against the Sikhs. I should recommend that, when the British troops cross the Chenab, the Maharajah's be directed to cross the Jhelum, in their own territory, and not to pass their own border to the plains, without positive instructions.

Inclosure 33 in No. 41.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Umballa, December 2, 1848.

THE service^{*} thus rendered to the British Government has afforded great gratification to the Governor-General; and you are requested to convey the thanks and praises of his Lordship to Major Edwardes, Lieutenant Lake, and General Cortlandt, as well as to all the other officers and troops who distinguished themselves on that occasion, by their gallant conduct, and steady co-operation with the British forces, who have already received their meed of approbation from their own Government.

Inclosure 34 in No. 41.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Umballa, December 2, 1848.

YOU are requested to assure Major Edwardes that his Lordship fully recognises the readiness with which the services of his force have been afforded to the Major-General commanding at Mooltan, whenever he has requested them, as well as their efficiency in the field.

It is, undoubtedly, very desirable that the occupation of Sirdarpore and Toolumba, and of other neighbouring districts, should be effected without delay, in order to secure property and revenue, and to repress the outrages of marauders. It is, also, very desirable that the heavy expense involved in the support of the large force at Mooltan, should be lessened, and that no risk should be incurred of a deficiency of supplies, for the very large British force which will, shortly, be assembled before that place. His Lordship, therefore, approves of your sanctioning the employment of Sheik Emamooddeen, for the occupation of his own districts of Sirdarpore and Toolumba.

The removal of the entire irregular force under Major Edwardes and Lieutenant Lake is not, at present, considered expedient; it is, therefore, desired that, only after the arrival of the full reinforcements at Mooltan, the troops of the Nawab of Bahawulpore may be permitted to retire, with the exception of a select body, which should remain with Lieutenant Lake, and take part in the siege. The whole force, then left, under Major Edwardes, may remain, if their services are considered useful in keeping open the communications with Bahawulpore and the Ghats, and if there is no deficiency of supplies.

If the services of the whole of that force are not required, or if supplies are scanty, General Cortlandt, with such a body of troops as Major Edwardes

* On the 7th of November.

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advance which his Excellency might attempt to make, he would experience very great difficulty in procuring supplies for the army, I requested his Excellency on no consideration to advance into the Doab beyond the Chenab, except for the purpose of attacking Shere Sing, in the position he held, without further communication with me.

This injunction is based upon certain circumstances, and is to continue in force, only while those circumstances remain unchanged. The information which I have since received, has led me to believe that, in many material respects, they have undergone a change. I have, therefore, acquainted his Excellency that, if he can satisfy his own judgment regarding the state of his supplies, his supports, and communications, if the intelligence he may receive, and the reconnoissances he may be able to make, shall satisfy him that the enemy may be attacked with success, with such force as he may have safely disposable, and without a heavy loss, in such case, I should be happy indeed to see a blow struck that would destroy the enemy, add honor to the British arms, and avert the prospect of a protracted, and costly, war. Meanwhile, his Excellency, with the British army, remains at Ramnuggur.

Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell's dispatch of the 6th instant,* gives an account of his operations against Shere Sing, and of the escape of the Sikh force, on the night of the 3rd. The force under Sir Joseph Thackwell crossed the Chenab on the 1st and 2nd instant, at Wuzeerabad, a town twenty-two miles up the river from Ramnuggur. The Commander-in-Chief, then, pushed his batteries and breastwork to the bank of the river, opening a cannonade upon the enemy's front, to divert their attention from the flank movement intended by Sir Joseph Thackwell. His Excellency, at the same time, detached another brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Godby, which effected the passage of the river, at a ford six miles from Ramnuggur. Sir J. Thackwell's orders were to await the arrival of Brigadier Godby, unless the enemy attempted to retreat; and, under these orders, he halted at noon of the 3rd, when within four miles of the enemy's left. The enemy, encouraged by the halt, advanced to attack, and opened "a smart distant cannonade," which was not returned, till they came well within range of the British guns, which, then, opened upon them a destructive fire. After a cannonade of two hours, the enemy's fire slackened. "Sir Joseph Thackwell was, then, induced," the Commander-in-Chief writes, "by the exhausted state both of man and horse, to postpone the attack upon the enemy's flank and rear, till the following morning, the day having nearly closed when the cannonade ceased." In the night, Shere Sing, fled with the whole Sikh force; and by the last accounts, was on the left bank of the Jhelum.

I request your attention to the letter addressed by the Secretary† to the Resident at Lahore, on the 18th instant, respecting the desire evinced by Shere Sing and the Sikh Sirdars, to treat, either with respect to the release of the British prisoners they have with them, or with respect to making terms generally. On the latter proposal, I have said that the Government will not treat with rebels in arms; and, with respect to the former, while I feel the deepest solicitude for the recovery of the prisoners, I have informed the Resident that the Government would not be justified, were it to consent to the sacrifice of great public objects, to accomplish their freedom. Shere Sing has been informed, that a terrible retribution will be exacted if any injury is done to them.

By a letter from Lieutenant Herbert, dated the 6th instant, (which is the latest account from him,) I regret to inform you that his tenure of the fort of Attock had become very precarious. He had been blockaded for twenty-seven days, and his troops were showing strong symptoms of insubordination.

The insurrectionary movements in the Jullundur Doab, have been entirely suppressed, by the judicious measures of Mr. Lawrence, and the well-planned and successful movements of Brigadier Wheeler. I have instructed Mr. Lawrence that no terms should be offered to the chief insurgents, but that they should be thrown into prison, immediately they are captured, or surrender.

At Mooltan, the position of affairs is still unaltered; the arrival of the Bombay force was daily expected, and I trust that, in my next dispatches, I shall be able to report to you the re-commencement of operations against that fortress.

* Inclosure 12 in No. 42.

† Inclosure 15 in No. 42.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 42.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Patursee, December 13, 1848.

THE Governor-General conceives you were quite right in not moving from your post at Lahore, at the present time; and his Lordship requests that the utmost vigilance may continue to be exercised for insuring the safe custody of the persons of the Maharajah and the Sirdars, and of their property.

Inclosure 3 in No. 42.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Ramnuggur, November 23, 1848.

DEEMING it necessary to drive the rebel force, at this side the river, across, and to capture any guns they might have had on the left bank, I directed Brigadier-General Campbell, with an infantry brigade of the troops under his command, accompanied by the cavalry division, and three troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier-General Cureton, to proceed, during the night of the 21st, from Saharun, four miles in front of my camp at Nonwulla, to effect this object. I joined the brigadier at three in the morning, to witness the operation.

I hope to be able to inclose Brigadier-General Campbell's report, with a return of the killed and wounded, which, I regret to say, is much greater than I could have anticipated, in a great measure, from the officers leading being unacquainted with the difficult nature of the ground in the vicinity of the river, and of which no native information ever gives you a just knowledge, and, in some measure, to the impetuosity of the artillery and cavalry, who, notwithstanding these difficulties, charged to the bank of the river, thereby exposing themselves to the fire of about twenty-eight guns. I deeply regret to say a gun was left behind, but spiked, having actually, in the impetuosity of the advance, plunged down a bank close under the fire of the enemy's guns. It was reported to me it would occasion a fearful loss of life to bring it away, which alone could be effected by manual labour, and scarping the banks, under the fire of even the matchlockmen on the opposite bank: I could not, therefore, consent to such a sacrifice. Though blamable as it may appear to have taken the guns into such close proximity to the enemy's guns in position, which could not, from the river intervening, be captured, it is impossible not to admire the daring gallantry exhibited by the troops both of cavalry and artillery.

I witnessed with intense anxiety, but equally intense admiration, a charge made by Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock, at the head of the 14th Light Dragoons, who, I fear, misconceived the orders he received from the officer commanding the cavalry division; or, from the inequalities of the ground, and the fearful dust occasioned by such a rapid movement, mistook the body he was instructed to charge, and moved upon, and overwhelmed, another, much closer to the river, which exposed him to a cross fire from the enemy's guns. I never witnessed so brilliant a charge, but I regret to say the loss was considerable, were it only in that of Brigadier-General Cureton, than whom a better, or braver, soldier never fell in his country's service. The brave leader of the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock, is missing; he charged into a gale of the enemy, and has not since been seen, regretted by every soldier who witnessed his noble daring.

The enemy suffered severely; numbers were precipitated into the river, and drowned, and a standard was captured.

The Goorchurras were more daring than I have before seen them, but the brilliant charges both of the 3d and 14th Light Dragoons will have taught them a lesson they will not readily forget. This was a cavalry affair alone; the infantry never was, nor could have been, brought into play, without an unnecessary exposure of life; but the cavalry and artillery, engaged under Brigadier-General Campbell, whose judicious arrangements were most creditable to him, nobly supported the well-earned fame of the Indian army, and is but a prelude to, I have no doubt, the honorable fulfilment of what their country expects of them.

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ship's entire confidence and warmest regard, the service has lost one of its most distinguished officers, and one who was beloved by the whole army.

I regret also to have to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock, commanding Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, is reported to be missing. He was last seen charging the enemy at the head of his noble regiment, and has not since been heard of.

I am sorry to have further to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander, commanding the 5th Regiment Light Cavalry, has been severely wounded, and lost his arm. Some other officers and men have also been wounded, whose names are mentioned in the inclosed return of casualties.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Advance Force of the Army of the Punjab, under the command of Brigadier-General C. Campbell, C.B., in the Action with the Enemy, on the 22nd of November, 1848.

Personal Staff—1 European officer wounded.

Horse Artillery.

1st Troop 3rd Brigade—3 horses killed; 1 rank and file, 1 lascar, 4 horses, wounded; 1 horse missing.

2nd Troop 3rd Brigade—1 syce killed; 1 rank and file wounded; 1 horse missing.

Total—1 syce, 3 horses, killed; 2 rank and file, 1 lascar, 4 horses, wounded; 2 horses missing.

Cavalry Division.

Staff—1 European officer killed.

1st Brigade.

Her Majesty's 3rd Light Dragoons—6 horses killed; 5 rank and file, 10 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, 10 horses, missing.

5th Regiment Light Cavalry—1 havildar, 8 rank and file, 18 horses, killed; 3 European officers, 1 Native officer, 12 rank and file, 22 horses, wounded.

8th Regiment Light Cavalry—1 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 rank and file, 1 syce, 2 horses, wounded; 1 Native officer, 3 horses, missing.

Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons—1 sergeant, 2 rank and file, killed; 5 officers, 5 sergeants, 26 rank and file, 25 horses, wounded; 1 officer, 9 rank and file, 34 horses, missing.

Total—1 European officer, 2 sergeant and havildar, 11 rank and file, 25 horses, killed; 8 European officers, 1 Native officer, 5 sergeants, 44 rank and file, 1 syce, 59 horses, wounded; 1 European officer, 1 Native officer, 10 rank and file, 47 horses, missing.

Grand Total—90 officers and men, and 140 horses.

Mem.—The 2d Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery lost 1 gun and 2 ammunition-waggons.

Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

Personal Staff of the Commander-in-Chief—Ensign G. N. Hardinge, extra Aide-de-Camp, severely wounded.

Cavalry Division—Brigadier-General C. R. Cureton, C.B., commanding, killed.

5th Regiment Light Cavalry—Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel W. Alexander, severely wounded; Brevet Captain J. S. G. Ryley, severely wounded; Captain A. Wheatley, wounded.

Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons—Captain R. H. Gall, severely wounded; Captain J. F. Fitzgerald, very severely wounded; Captain A. Scudamore, slightly wounded; Lieutenant W. M'Mahon, severely wounded; Cornet the Hon. R. W. Chetwynd, slightly wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel W. Havelock, K.H., missing.

12th Irregular Cavalry—Lieutenant J. G. Holmes, severely wounded.

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I considered it, therefore, necessary to counteract their machinations^{at} once, by a declaration to the people of the Punjab, of the real object of the present advance of the British army.

Inclosure 8 in No. 42.

Proclamation by the Resident at Lahore, November 18, 1848.

TO the subjects, servants, and dependents, of the Lahore State, and the residents, of all classes and castes, whether Sikh, Mussulman, or other, within the territories of Maharajah Duleep Sing, from the Beas to the mountains beyond Peshawur. Whereas certain evil-disposed persons, and traitors, have excited rebellion and insurrection, and have seduced portions of the population of the Punjab from their allegiance, and have raised an armed opposition to the British authority; and whereas the condign punishment of the insurgents is necessary; therefore, the British army, under the command of the Right Honorable the Commander-in-Chief, has entered the Punjab districts. The army will not return to its cantonments, until the full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all armed opposition to constituted authority put down, and obedience and order have been re-established.

And whereas it is not the desire of the British Government that those who are innocent of the above offences, who have taken no part, secretly or openly, in the disturbances, and who have remained faithful in their obedience to the government of Maharajah Duleep Sing, be they Sikh, or be they of any other class, should suffer with the guilty; therefore, all persons who are not concerned, directly or indirectly, in the present disturbances, are assured that they have nothing to fear from the coming of the British army. Such persons are exhorted to remain, without apprehension, in their villages and homes, and, as loyal subjects of the Maharajah, to give every aid by providing carriage, supplies, and the like, to the army which has entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted government, but to restore order and obedience. Furthermore, all classes of the community, be they Sikh, or be they of any other caste or tribe, who, merely through ignorance, may have been led away, by the false statements of the evil-disposed and insurgent Sirdars and others, and have left their homes, and assembled themselves under the standard of rebellion, are, hereby, admonished, instantly to separate themselves from the insurgents, and to return to their villages. If they do so now, without hesitation or delay, no injury will happen to them; if they neglect this warning and advice, certain destruction will come upon them, in common with the other insurgents and rebels, and disturbers of the public peace.

Inclosure 9 in No. 42.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sirhind, December 14, 1848.

THE Governor-General approves of your having issued this proclamation.

Inclosure 10 in No. 42.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Flying Camp, Hillah, December 5, 1848.

IT has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the British arms the most successful issue to the extensive combinations rendered necessary for the purpose of effecting the passage of the Chenab, the defeat and dispersion of the Sikh force under the insurgent, Raja Shere Sing, and the numerous Sikh Sirdars, who had the temerity to set at defiance the British power. This force, from all my information, amounted to from 30,000 to 40,000 men, with twenty-eight guns, and

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destructive fire, which soon silenced all their guns, and frustrated all their operations, with very severe loss upon their side; but the exhausted state both of man and horse, induced the Major-General to postpone the attack upon their flank and rear, as he was directed, until the following morning, the day having nearly closed when the cannonade ceased.

I regret to say that, during the night of the 3rd, the whole of the Sikh force precipitately fled, concealing, or carrying with them, their artillery, and exploding their magazines. I, immediately, pushed across the river the 9th Lancers and 14th Light Dragoons in pursuit, under that most energetic officer, Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert. The Sikhs, it appears, retreated in the greatest disorder, leaving in the villages numerous wounded men. They have subdivided into three divisions, which have become more a flight than a retreat; and I understand a great portion of those not belonging to the revolted Khalsa army, have dispersed, and returned to their homes, thus, I trust, effectually frustrating the views of the rebel Shere Sing, and his rebel associates.

I have not received Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell's report, nor the returns of his loss; but I am most thankful to say that our whole loss, subsequent to the 22nd of November, does not much exceed forty men. No officers have been killed, and but three wounded. Captain Austin, of the Artillery, only appears severely so.

I have to congratulate your Lordship upon events so fraught with importance, and which will, I have no doubt, with God's blessing, tend to most momentous results. It is, as I anticipated, most gratifying to me to assure your Lordship that the noble army under my command has, in these operations, upheld the well-established fame of the arms of India, both European and Native, each vying who should best perform his duty: every officer, from the General of Division to the youngest subaltern, well supported their Commander-in-Chief, and cheerfully carried out his views, which, at a future period, and when we shall have effected the views of the Government, I shall feel proud in bringing to your Lordship's notice.

Return of the Strength of the Force sent under the command of Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, K.C.B.

Camp, Rannuggur, December 5, 1848.

3 troops of Horse Artillery, 2 Light Field Batteries, 1 European Dragoon regiment, 2 Light Cavalry regiments, 1 Irregular Cavalry regiment, 2 regiments of European Infantry, 5 regiments and 2 companies of Native Infantry, 1 company of Pioneers, preceded with Major-General Sir J. Thackwell.

Reinforcement sent: 1 regiment of European Infantry, 1 regiment and 2 companies of Native Infantry.

N.B.—Two 18-pounders, two 9-pounders, Pontoon Train, detachment of Irregular Cavalry, returned from Wuzeerabad.

European regiments employed:—3rd Light Dragoons; H.M. 24th, H.M. 61st, 2nd European Infantry.

Inclosure 11 in No. 42.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Camp, Rannuggur, December 10, 1848.

IN continuation of my letter of the 5th instant, I have now the honor to inclose to your Lordship a copy of Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell's dispatch, dated the 6th idem, but only received last night, detailing the operations of the force under his command, after it had been detached from my head-quarters.

I can only repeat the warm approval I have already expressed of the conduct of the Major-General, and of every officer and man under his command, and I beg your Lordship's favorable consideration of the services of those named by Sir Joseph Thackwell.

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Grant, H.A., and Captain Smith, of the Engineers, for their great exertions in forwarding this object. Brigadier Eckford I hoped would have crossed the river by the three fords that evening, but, as it became too dark and hazy for such an operation, he halted for the night on the dry sands, near the last branch of the river. Major Tait, 3rd Irregular Cavalry, was enabled to pass over three of his Ressalahs, in doing which, I am sorry to say, three sowars and one horse were drowned. On the morrow, the infantry, cavalry, and all the troops were soon over the river by ferry and ford, and all the baggage and commissariat animals passed the same by 12 o'clock, without any further loss.

At 2 p.m., after the troops had dined, I marched in order of battle, three *Brigade columns of Companies* at half distance, left in front, at deploying interval; the 1st Brigade of Cavalry, in the same order, on the right, with strong flanking parties and rear guard, and the 3rd Irregular Cavalry on the left, with orders to patrol to the river, and clear the right bank, aided by Infantry, if necessary: in this order, I arrived at Doorawul at dusk, about 12 miles from the ferry, and halted for the night. On Sunday, December the 3rd, at daylight, the troops proceeded in the same order, towards the Sikh position, and I intended to have reconnoitred, and commenced an attack upon it, by 11 o'clock: hearing, however, when within about four miles of it or less, that reinforcements were expected to pass over the Chenab, at the ford near Ghurree-ke-Puttun, it became necessary to secure that post, which had been found without an enemy an hour before, but to which it now seemed that a body of about 600 of the enemy were seen approaching; and I detached a wing of the 56th Native Infantry, and two Ressalahs of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, under Major Tait, who secured the post, and frustrated the attempt of the enemy. This caused so much delay that enough of daylight would not be left for

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Cavalry.

1st Brigade.

Her Majesty's 3rd Light Dragoons—3 horses killed ; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

5th Light Cavalry—2 horses killed ; 1 havildar, 1 horse, wounded.

8th Light Cavalry—1 rank and file, 3 horses, killed ; 1 horse wounded.

Total—1 rank and file, 8 horses, killed ; 1 havildar, 1 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded.

3rd Irregular Cavalry—1 havildar, 2 rank and file, 11 horses, killed ; 1 European officer, 2 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded ; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Remarks—1 Bheestie wounded, and drowned crossing the river on the night of the 1st of December, 1848 ; 3 sowars and 1 horse, not included in this return.

12th Irregular Cavalry—I rank and file killed.

Infantry.

3rd Brigade.

31st Regiment Native Infantry—1 havildar, 6 rank and file, wounded.

6th Brigade.

Her Majesty's 24th Regiment—1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed ; 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.

22nd Regiment Native Infantry—1 havildar killed ; 1 Native officer, 2 rank and file, wounded.

25th Regiment Native Infantry—1 Native officer, 4 rank and file, killed ; 1 havildar, 7 rank and file, wounded.

Total—1 Native officer, 2 serjeant and havildar, 5 rank and file, killed ; 1 Native officer, 2 serjeant and havildar, 12 rank and file, wounded

8th Brigade.

Her Majesty's 61st Regiment—2 rank and file killed ; 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

36th Regiment Native Infantry—1 Native officer, 1 rank and file, killed ; 1 European officer, 2 rank and file, wounded.

46th Regiment Native Infantry—1 rank and file wounded.

Total—1 Native officer, 3 rank and file, killed ; 1 European officer, 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, wounded.

Total—21 men, 33 horses, killed ; 51 men, 14 horses, wounded ; 1 man, 1 horse, missing.

Grand Total—73 men, 48 horses.

List of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of a Detachment of the Army of the Punjab, on the 3rd of December, 1848.

1st Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery—Lieutenant E. J. Watson, wounded.

10th Light Field Battery, 1st Company 1st Battalion—Captain E. G. Austin, severely wounded.

22nd Regiment Native Infantry—Jemadar Sudar Khan, severely wounded, amputation of leg.

25th Regiment Native Infantry—Thunnoo Ram, Jemadar, killed.

36th Regiment Native Infantry—Lieutenant Garstin, severely wounded.

3rd Irregular Cavalry—Lieutenant A. Gibbings, wounded.

Inclosure 13 in No. 42.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Camp, Ramnuggur, December 16, 1848.

IN further continuation of my letter of the 10th instant, I feel it my duty to forward the inclosed letter from Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell.

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The Maharanee Junda Khore, and Raja Lal Sing, whose names have been adverted to, must, of course, be excluded from any arrangement of the above nature.

Your opinion is requested as to whether any advantage would arise from taking measures to make it known, that the Government would highly reward any one who should bring the prisoners safe into camp.

Inclosure 16 in No. 42.

Major Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sooraj Koond, December 4, 1848.

SHEIK EMAMOODDEEN and his force marched from this, on the 1st of December, and crossed the Chenab at the ferry of Shah Ali, in rear of the British camp, next day, on their way to Jhung.

The day after, the Sheik received, by the hand of a cossid of Moolraj, a letter from that rebel, inclosing another from Chuttur Sing, both of which the Sheik transmitted to me, with the cossid who brought them.

Dewan Moolraj to Sheik Emamooddeen.

TO be loyal and true to one's master, is the very gem of manhood. You are the wise man of this age. Let bygones, therefore, be bygones; and, looking on my house as your own, come hither, in all confidence of a hearty welcome, and unite with me in the public cause.

Seal of
Moolraj.
" Verbum
Sap."—

P.S.—I inclose, my dear friend, a note to your address, from Sirdar Chuttur Sing. Please send a reply."

Chuttur Sing to Sheik Emamooddeen.

November 9, 1848.

Every Hindoo and Mussulman subject who has eaten the salt of our great, pure, and mighty Government, has proved himself true to both his Sovereign, and his religion. It becomes you, therefore, to remember what favors and honors you have received, in your day, from the Durbar, now, when the time has come for evincing gratitude by faithful service. It is unaccountable, indeed, that, up to this present writing, you are still pursuing a career of treachery and infamy! What can be your motives? the result of such baseness can only be ruin in this world, and the next. Reflect upon what you owe to your Sovereign; you, whose whole house has been raised from nothing; and, without further delay, join either Dewan Moolraj, or my beloved son Shere Sing. I have written this advice to you, for old acquaintance sake, wishing you well.

Seal of
Chuttur Sing

on the cover.

Sheik Emamooddeen does, indeed, as described by Chuttur Sing, stand out in creditable relief from the majority of Durbar servants; and his position is one of proportionate difficulty, and maintained alone by the constant support you give him on all occasions. You will, I am sure, be much pleased by his conduct in this matter.

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It would seem that the enemy is in despair of gaining the fort by force, and was expected to raise the siege entirely; but against the treachery of the garrison it is far more difficult to guard. I am quite satisfied that, whatever can be effected by energy, firmness, and judgment, you will accomplish; and if your garrison should have betrayed you, your character will not stand the less high in the estimation of the Governor-General, and of your country.

Inclosure 20 in No. 42.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, December 8, 1848.

ON looking, this morning, through the papers I have accumulated, regarding the outbreak at Mooltan, I perceive one which I had translated at the time, intending to send it to Government, but which does not appear to have been submitted.

It is the deposition of a man named Kootub Shah, and was taken on the 3rd of June last. It gives only the particulars regarding the first outbreak of disturbances at Mooltan, which have been, already, reported to Government, but it is valuable as corroborating the statements of others, and should, I think, be placed on record.

The conduct of Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, and the treatment he has received, and continues to receive, are not very intelligible. We have still, I think, much to learn in respect to him.

Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, is still a close prisoner in the Fort of Mooltan, and he was never allowed to see any of the Sikh party, or to hold any communication with them, during the time that Shere Sing and the other Sikh Sirdars remained at that place.

From all I can learn, it appears that, on the murder of the British officers, Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, was placed in confinement, for a few days; that he had an interview with the Dewan; after which, he was released, and treated with consideration, for about a month, or six weeks, when, he was, suddenly, placed in close imprisonment, from which he has not yet been released; and that he was studiously kept out of sight and reach, while Shere Sing's party was at Mooltan.

I have in my possession letters and papers, of the authenticity of which there is little doubt, which prove that Sirdar Khan Sing was in the interest of the Maharanee, and deeply concerned in the conspiracy for the murder of the British officials, and their expulsion from Lahore, before he was selected for the Mooltan appointment, and that his mission to Mooltan was to be made subservient to the cause; and that he was to create a disturbance, or insurrection, in that province, shortly after his getting the government.

And, furthermore, the papers show that, after the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, Sirdar Khan Sing, in conjunction with Dewan Moolraj, was in correspondence with the Maharanee, for the purpose of furthering the interests of the conspiracy. Parts of this correspondence are in my possession; it took place between the date of the murder of Mr. Agnew at Mooltan, and of the execution of General Khan Sing, and the Maharanee's Moonshee, at Lahore.

Statements have been, at different times, and by various parties, made to me, and to the assistants, to the effect that Sirdar Khan Sing and Moolraj had an understanding together, from the first, and that, after the outbreak, they were, for a time, acting in concert; that, when General Khan Sing and the Moonshee were seized, convicted, and executed at Lahore, Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, believed the whole conspiracy discovered, and the game up; and that he, then, set to work to organize a scheme at Mooltan, by which he might seize Moolraj, get possession of the fort, and make both over to the British Government, in order to save himself. It is asserted that these machinations came to the knowledge of Moolraj, who, immediately, seized Khan Sing, and placed him under the close restraint from which he has never been released. This statement has been current for the last five months, but I have never been able to find any one who was cognizant of the fact, so as to be able to give evidence thereto. It is the solution generally given, and believed, of the somewhat enigmatical conduct of Moolraj towards Sirdar Khan Sing, Man.

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Khan Sing requested Mr. Agnew to take a few companies with him to occupy the fort, but that officer observed that a single Puhurra would be sufficient. On Sirdar Khan Sing repeating his request, Mr. Agnew said that he would go, first, alone, and that the Sirdar should follow on his receiving charge of the fort. At length, it was settled that two companies and fifteen sowars should accompany them.

The next day, the Dewan was waited for, but, as he did not make his appearance up to 9 o'clock, a message was sent to him, to enquire the reason, and to request his presence.

The British officers and the Sirdar mounted an elephant, and, after inspecting their guns, were preparing to go to the fort, when Moolraj appeared, accompanied by 300 or 400 mounted men.

He alighted from his horse, and, getting on an elephant, went with the other party to the fort; when they reached the inner gate, they dismounted, and entered the fort; about ten people attended the British officers, but the rest of the troops who accompanied the Sirdar, were not allowed to proceed inside, and one or two of them were even struck, slightly.

I said to Mr. Agnew, "if the Dewan intends to give up the fort, why does he not allow our troops to enter, and why do you go in thus unattended?" Mr. Agnew requested the Dewan to allow the Lahore soldiers to be admitted. Both the companies were, then, permitted to enter. The British officers inspected the fort, Dewan Moolraj pointing out the magazines and other places. He, then, showed them a part of the fort, which he asserted to be proof against shot from outside.

About 100 soldiers were drawn up in review by the Dewan, to whom Mr. Agnew gave every encouragement, telling them that they would be taken into the service of the Lahore Government, and that, after receiving their pay up to that date from the Dewan, they would be paid by him, in future. Mr. Agnew, then, proposed to leave.

Two companies, under Bhace Esra Sing and Golab Sing, were left in the fort. As they were leaving the place, and were approaching the outer gate, the Dewan pressed on his horse; at the same time, a soldier stepped forward, and cut at Lieutenant Anderson, twice, with his sword. That officer spurred on, after the Dewan, five of whose sowars, turning round, attacked him, and wounded him in several places. He arrived, with some difficulty, at the Edga. A soldier, then, struck at Mr. Agnew, who was, however, not wounded. The same soldier then struck him, three successive times, with his sword, while Mr. Agnew tried to defend himself with his stick. Sirdar Khan Sing dismounted, and, attended by a few of his sepoys, went to the British officer's assistance. Elahee Buksh wounded the soldier who had attacked Mr. Agnew. Ten or twelve of the Dewan's men, then, drew their swords. During this time Sirdar Khan Sing's troops were inside the fort.

The Sirdar took up Mr. Agnew, and, mounting an elephant, returned to the Edga.

Moolraj's soldiers fired off a gun and several matchlocks.

On arriving at the camp, it was found that Lieutenant Anderson was severely wounded, which was not known previously to Mr. Agnew.

Mr. Agnew wrote off, immediately, to Lahore, to Bahawulpore, and to Bunnoo, while his wounds were being dressed. Sowars were sent off, to hasten the arrival of Mr. Wilkinson (the apothecary), who was on his way from Lahore.

After a short time, a message came from the Dewan, to state that he had had nothing to do with what had taken place, and that it originated entirely from his troops, who had acted without his knowledge.

Mr. Agnew wrote to the Dewan, stating that he did not consider him to blame, but requesting him to send the soldiers who had attacked them.

He, also, ordered purwannas to be written, in the name of the troops, reprimanding them for having acted without the orders of the Dewan.

Rungram, on hearing that the British officers were wounded, advised the Dewan to visit them, unattended by his people.

While the Dewan was hesitating, a soldier, who was standing near Rungram wounded him with his sword. A commotion, then, ensued among the troops, who collected near the tomb of Shumstabreez. Mr. Agnew sent for me and Kurum Ullahee, and ordered us to go to Moolraj, and enquire into the cause of the tumult.

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During that day, the Sirdar was kept in confinement, in the Amkhas; the next, he was taken to the fort, where he was put in irons, with his son.

I remained under guard two days; the third day I was sent for by Moolraj, who said "if you wish to go, I will give you a pass." I had been advised, however, not to consent, as I should, probably, have been only imprisoned more strictly.

I, accordingly, refused to go, and offered to take service under him, requesting him to send for my family. On hearing this, he was greatly pleased and ordered my release from confinement. He, also, directed passports to be given to Kazee Gholam Hoossen, to bring my family to Mooltan. I then remained in Mooltan.

All that took place there has already been related by Vuzeer Alikhare, and the other officers who accompanied Mr. Agnew.

The next day, Ram Doss, brother of Hursookh, a general in the Dewan's service, came to me, and offered me a note of hand for 500 rupees, which the Dewan had sent. I declined taking it, on the plea that I had not earned it by what I had done, but said that I would take a reward, after displaying my services. I remained seven days at Mooltan.

When intelligence reached the Dewan, that Lieutenant Edwardes had marched upon Leia, he sent off Bugwan Dos, with a force of 3,500 men and 10 guns, to oppose him. Asud Khan of Sungur accompanied Bugwan Dos. I was, also, directed to go, but replied that I had no troops at my disposal; upon this, he told me to take Kurum Elakee, and his sowars, with me. We, accordingly, left, and accompanied Bugwan's force, three days. The next day, in the evening, when the troops marched, I remained some coss in the rear, with my sowars, and turned towards Lahore. That day we marched to Ooch-gool-Eman, 50 coss distant.

When Moolraj sent for me, he mentioned that letters had reached him, before our arrival, from a place named Boorapoor, 30 coss from Mooltan, from the Sikhs in the Lahore force, promising to desert from the Sirdar, and join the Dewan. He showed me the letters, which were written in Goormookhee. He also showed me letters from the Maharanee, and mentioned that he had written to the troops at Peshawur, Hazara, Lahore, and Bunnoo, requesting them to join him.

He desired Sirdar Khan Sing and me to subscribe our names, which we did, for our own safety. The Dewan refused to listen to me, when I said that I held no command, and that it would be of no use to attach my seal to the letter.

The second day after the murder, the bodies of the British officers were wrapped up in a silken khes, and buried in one grave, by the Dewan's orders. The next day an Akalee removed the silk. The Dewan on hearing this, ordered his people to bury the bodies again, decently.

Moolraj directed the inclosure of the Edga to be pulled down.

When I left, there was one regiment of Sikhs commanded by Hurdas Sing of Hoshiarpore; a great number of Beloochees, Affghans, and others are, now collected.

Moolraj's companions are Peer Buksh, Adawlutee, Futtch Mahomed Khan, Koornjugur, Mustapha Khan, Khagwanee, Sadik Mahomed Khan, Assud Khan, Belooch of Soongur, Misr Gooljus, Heer Bugwan, &c.

Rungram will not suffer his wounds to be dressed, in the hope that he may get a pension for being wounded in the service of Government.

Inclosure 22 in No. 42.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Camp, before Ramnuggur, November 27, 1848.

IT affords me the greatest gratification to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a dispatch of the 23rd instant, addressed to the Adjutant-General of the army, by Brigadier-General H. M. Wheeler, C.B., commanding the Punjab division, reporting the reduction of Kullalwala.

I have directed the Adjutant-General to convey to Brigadier-General Wheeler my hearty congratulations and thanks for the important services he, and the brave troops under his command, have rendered on this occasion.

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Hajeepore, who was then at Mookerian, on the way to his station, to join our force. The Sikh corps has, as yet, behaved so remarkably well, that I am still inclined to think, with Major Hodgson, that they will continue to do so. I was also averse to denude the station of Hajeepore, from which assistance could readily be afforded to Noorpoor and Puthankote, of troops. However, after full consideration, as there can be no doubt of the wisdom of avoiding all risks that can possibly be guarded against, I wrote to Major Simpson, requesting him to join us, to which that officer readily acceded. He reached Hajeepore just as our rear-guard left the place, and will be in the camp with the headquarters of the corps, and find five companies this evening. We are now strong enough, in my judgment, for any emergency. Colonel Wilkinson also writes to me, that he will co-operate with us by the Naree Pass, on the morning of the 1st proximo, with four companies, leaving four others, and a troop of regular cavalry, to guard Hoshiarpore.

The circumstance of the Bedee having joined the insurrection, will have an immense effect, no doubt, on all the Sikhs in the Doab; they are not numerous, compared to the whole population, but are, no doubt, the most warlike portion of it. They, and, in particular, the Sikh Jagheerdars, are hated by the villagers, but, at the same time, much dreaded; and it is difficult to say what disturbance they may not create. I heard, this morning, that a number of them have met, and sworn to drive us out of the Doab. Nearly all the Rajas in the hills seem to be raising men, and are, doubtless, more or less implicated, and watching events in the hope of benefiting by them. It would, therefore, I think, be expedient, that Brigadier Wheeler cross the Ravee at once, and be near enough to pass into this territory, on a moment's warning. It will, however, be equally necessary that troops should be posted in the Baree Doab, lightly equipped, so as to be able to march, at once, on any point where insurgents may collect. The 4th Native Infantry have now one wing at Nukodur; the other is at Loodiana; and I have recommended to Colonel Wilkinson the expediency of having the other wing over.

I have written to Brigadier Wheeler, advising him of the state of affairs in this territory; and requested him to dispatch towards Hajeepore a couple of nine-pounders, and a few mortars, in case we should not be able to take Oonah without them.

Inclosure 25 in No. 42.

Mr. Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Dungoh, November 30, 1848.

I ARRIVED this day at Dungoh, with the troops under Major Simpson. We marched, after sunrise, the distance about fifteen miles up the Doon. On the road, we heard that a party of the Jeswan insurgents had come down the day before, and driven the police out of the fort of Dungoh, which, when the other forts in this part of the hills were destroyed, was reserved for their accommodation. We further ascertained that the Raja of Duttarpoor was also raising men, and that his son was in the fort with some men, having connived with the Jeswan men in ousting the police. Dungoh was built by the Rajas of Mulote, in the territory of Duttarpoor, which was wrested from the ancestors of the present Raja, some eighty years ago.

I wrote to the Duttarpoor Raja, both the day before yesterday, and yesterday, encouraging him to remain faithful, and assist our police. I further told him to come out and meet me during the morning march. As we approached the fort, we ascertained that the insurgents were leaving it; accordingly, Mr. Cust and I galloped on with a few sowars, and were fortunate enough to overtake the Raja's son, with a few matchlockmen, stealing off. I called on him, by name, to stop, which he did, and gave himself up, without making the least resistance. I then sent word to the father, that his son was with me, and that, if he did not come in, within two hours, I would instantly attack him. He has just arrived, and I have placed both father and son under restraint. The heads of villages joined us on the march, the majority declaring that they had neither joined in the insurrection, nor allowed their people to do so, and others saying that

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the utmost cheerfulness and promptitude; and, in less than a quarter of an hour after receiving the information, I was in full march to meet them, leaving sufficient protection for the camp.

Before I had marched a mile, I obtained intelligence that, after wounding two or three grass-cutters, and carrying off several of their ponies, they had recrossed the Ooj river. I immediately sent off the cavalry in pursuit, and successively sent back to camp the field-batteries, and the 3rd regiment Native Infantry, excepting two companies, with which, and the troop of artillery, I continued my march to support the cavalry, or, if necessary, to dislodge the enemy from any village in which they might post themselves. On reaching the left bank of the Ooj, I learned that the party had returned to Nerote, pursued by the cavalry; and I, consequently, returned to camp with the horse artillery and infantry, which I reached at a little after 5 P.M.

The cavalry returned about an hour and a half after, without having come up with the enemy, excepting a small party of the 2nd Irregulars, which behaved in the most dashing manner. A report of the affair from Captain G. Jackson, commanding that corps, accompanies this.

I made my arrangements for moving on Nerote, next morning, (the 1st instant), and just before commencing the march, obtained good information that Nerote was abandoned, and the enemy in full march to plunder Deenanuggur. This altered my plans, and I, immediately, marched for that place, which I reached past noon, having crossed the Ravce, by a very unsound ford, three miles from Kelaspore, and ten from Deenanuggur. I had sent on the 15th Irregular Cavalry, to protect the town, until I came up.

Lieutenant Hodson, from whom I have received excellent information, went with his guides, to Nerote, and I added a *ressala* of irregulars, to enable him to follow up the track of the enemy. He joined me, in the evening, at Deenanuggur; and I have great pleasure in reporting, that, on Gunda Sing and Prum Sing reaching the Ravee, they were deserted by the whole of their followers, excepting twenty-five, (which, of course, rendered a move on Deenanuggur out of the question,) and with that number struck off to the hills, to join the rebels there.

The state of our hill territories is such that I have felt it advisable to push on to Hoshiarpore, and have arrived here this morning, having forded the Beas, and made a march of seventeen miles, at the least.

After arranging the affair in that quarter, and dispelling the alarm which has been raised in the Doab, I purpose re-crossing the Beas, and, if necessary, the Ravee, to preserve the tranquillity of both the Doabs.

Inclosure 28 in No. 42.

Brevet-Captain G. Jackson, Commandant 2nd Irregular Cavalry, to Brevet-Major H. Palmer, Major of Brigade.

Camp, Adunanuggur, December 1, 1848.

I SUBMIT the following account of my proceedings yesterday, when sent in pursuit of a body of the enemy, who had attacked the grass-cutters of the regiment under my command.

On the alarm being sounded in camp, I received the Brigadier-General's instructions to detach a division of my regiment, of the strength named in the margin,* to ascertain the number and position of the enemy. The division was commanded by Naib Ressaldar Mirza Hyder Beg, and, within a mile of camp, came up with a party of fifty Sikh horsemen, on the banks of a nullah, who immediately crossed to the opposite side to their comrades, but not before one horseman was cut down in single combat by Keramut Ally, sowar. On reaching the opposite bank, the enemy's party was increased to upwards of 100 horsemen; but the Naib Ressaldar, without waiting to count his opponents, dashed through the nullah, and gallantly charged the whole body, killing eight, and wounding several. The Naib Ressaldar, with his division, pursued the enemy a distance of seven miles, and recovered from them several of the tattoos which had been plundered, in the morning, from my grass-cutters.

On receiving from Captain Burroughs, deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, the orders of the Brigadier-General to move with the remainder of my regiment

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I observe that Brigadier Wheeler has been gazetted to the command of the Punjab Division, retaining that of this territory. It seems to me that, at a time like the present, some officer should be on this side the Beas, with power to act, under the Brigadier-General.

Inclosure 30 in No. 42.

Major D. Simpson to Mr. Lawrence.

Camp, Umbota, December 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to inclose, herewith, a detachment order, issued yesterday, regarding our operations against the rebels of the Jeswan valley.

Inclosure 31 in No. 42.

Detachment Orders by Major D. Simpson, Commanding Detachment in the Jeswan Valley.

Camp, Umbota, December 2, 1848.

MAJOR Simpson, commanding detachments in the Jeswan valley, returns his best thanks to the head-quarters and five companies 29th regiment Native Infantry, for the gallant manner in which they, this morning, stormed the heights above, and routed the mob of the Raja of Umb.

Opposed by 400 men, posted on a very strong hill, well-armed with jezzails and matchlocks, they drove all before them. Officers and men did their duty, more especially, Major Simpson observed the gallant bearing of Captain Park commanding 29th regiment of native infantry, Lieutenant Unwin, 16th grenadiers, officiating interpreter and quarter-master, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Faddy, whose able services he regrets being temporarily deprived of, in consequence of a severe wound.

The number of prisoners released must be a source of pleasure to all those employed.

Lieutenant Johnston 29th regiment Native Infantry, detachment staff, will immediately make over to John Lawrence, Esq., commissioner, 38 prisoners taken in the affair.

Officers commanding companies of the 29th regiment Native Infantry, are requested by Major Simpson to give his thanks to their men.

RETURN of Killed and Wounded of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry, on the 2nd December, 1848.

Rank and Names.	Killed.	Wounded.			Total.	Remarks.
		Danger- ously.	Severely.	Slightly.		
Lieutenant	1	..	..	1	All gun-shot wounds.
Havildar	1	..	1	
Bugler	1	1	
Sepoys	2	2	3	7	
Name of European officer, Lieutenant Adjutant Faddy.						

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Inclosure 33 in No. 42.

Major D. Simpson to Mr. Lawrence.

Camp, Oonah, December 5, 1848.

I INCLOSE a report made by Major Hodgson, commanding 1st regiment Sikh Infantry, of his attack on Ukrote, on the morning of the 2nd instant.

I esteem myself most fortunate in having had an officer of Major Hodgson's skill, to assist me in the simultaneous attacks the detachment under my command made on the enemy's positions.

Inclosure 34 in No. 42.

Major J. S. Hodgson to Lieutenant Johnston.

Camp, Umbota, December 3, 1848.

AGREEABLY to orders, I marched the 1st regiment, Sikh Local Infantry, at 10 P.M. of the night of the 1st instant, for the purpose of attacking and dismantling Ukrote, the place of the residence of the Raja of Jeswan Doon.

The regiment amounting to 400 rank and file, arrived at the foot of the hill on which the enemy were posted, about day-break, after a difficult march of fourteen miles. I, immediately, detached two parties to take the position in flank and rear, and advanced with the main body, covered by skirmishers: during the ascent, the enemy kept up a fire of matchlocks, which was returned by the skirmishers.

The opposition was soon overcome, and the enemy, observing that they were being surrounded, dispersed, after losing three men killed, and several wounded; six prisoners were also made, and have been delivered over to the civil power.

The whole of the buildings were dismantled and destroyed. This was a work of time, as one, a Barradurree, being of solid masonry, required time and arrangement to effect its destruction, nor was this work completed before the evening.

Working parties from the regiments were employed to effect this object, and, the men having been without refreshment from the day previous, it was quite impossible to have returned that night.

The regiment behaved, in every respect, to my satisfaction, and I feel it but proper to mention the valuable and spirited aid I received from Mr. Christian of the civil service, who guided the march of the regiment, and accompanied it in its advance up the ascent.

I am happy to say I had only one Sepoy wounded.

Inclosure 35 in No. 42.

Mr. Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Oonah, December 5, 1848.

LAST night, we took possession of the town and residence of Bedee Bikrama Sing, without the slightest opposition. The place was deserted, and much of the transportable property seemed to have been removed. After carefully inspecting the whole of the buildings, I feel perfectly convinced that we might have taken them, with our force, in a single day. The houses are strongly built and loop-holed, but could not have resisted an attack judiciously conducted. I shall have such portions of them dismantled, before the force marches, as may appear necessary.

On the march yesterday, Bedee Bikrama Sing's uncle, Bedee Kahor Sing, an old man of seventy-five years of age, and a considerable Jagheerdar in the territory, came out to meet us. He had, from the first, set his face against his nephew's misdeeds, and I have allowed him to return home, after giving him my assurance of safety and protection.

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detachment, in light infantry order, to camp, about a mile distant from the Ghat. During the night, intelligence was received of the arrival at Teera, without opposition, of the Nadown Raja, with about 700 men, and that the enemy had evacuated the fort, and, on the following morning, we were enabled to cross with the whole detachment. At the Ghat we were met by the Raja Purmooh Chund, who delivered himself up to the Deputy Commissioner, G. Barnes, Esq., and I immediately despatched a small guard to take possession of the fort. I regret to say that two Sepoys of the 2nd hill regiment have been wounded in the affair.

Inclosure 38 in No. 42.

Lieutenant and Adjutant R. K. Gordon, Commanding Detachment 2nd Hill Regiment Sikh Local Infantry, to Major Ferris, C.B.

Camp, near Toorul, December 2, 1848.

AGREEABLY to your instructions, I marched from Puthankote, on the morning of the 25th ultimo, strength as per margin*, with Deputy Commissioner G. Barnes, Esq., towards Teera.

We marched from Koorul at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 1st, and, on the line of march, I received intelligence that the enemy had crossed the Beas, on the evening of the 30th ultimo, in great force, having upwards of 800 men, and were advancing to attack us. I had just arrived at the small village of Toorul, and taken up a strong position on some heights on the left of the road, when I perceived the enemy advancing to the attack, in two divisions, about half a mile in front of my position. My small force was, in a great measure, concealed by brushwood. I, immediately, detached a party in skirmishing order, to take possession of a hill on my left, which I observed one of the divisions, headed by Purmooh Chund, was making for, and secured it. I, also, detached a party to the right, to seize a small mound, and village, about 300 yards in front of our position, which, had the enemy got possession of, would have given us great trouble in dislodging. I then advanced, with the remainder of my men, leaving a small party to protect the baggage, and commenced the attack in front. The enemy made a most determined resistance; but, after about half an hour's hard fighting, and vainly endeavouring to gain the hill, on which I had placed the flanking parties, they at length gave way, and the whole of my men charged most gallantly down the hill, and drove them before them for upwards of three miles. In this charge we took a standard of the Raja's, and the bearer of it was bayoneted by Kurreem Buksh, sepoy, 9th company, whose gallant conduct I beg leave to bring most especially to your notice; as well as the gallant conduct of Jemadar Mustram, 5th company, who repulsed several attempts of the enemy to force his position on the heights. You are aware that this native officer has, already, received the third class order of merit, for former services. His conduct was most conspicuous throughout the affair, and I consider it my duty to bring it to your notice.

I have further to bring to your notice the very able assistance I received from G. Barnes, Esq., who, on the enemy retiring, moved out, with about thirty men I had left to protect the baggage, and took possession of a Ghat through which the enemy were compelled to pass, and kept up a heavy fire on them, by which they sustained a great loss. The number of the enemy killed amounts to thirty, whose bodies were found, and they must have had a much larger proportion wounded. On our side, I am happy to report that we have had none killed, owing principally to our strong position, and one Naick, Juggernaut, 10th company, severely wounded. In conclusion, I have to state that the conduct of the whole detachment was everything I could have wished. I have further to report that Mr. Barnes, the Deputy Commissioner, expects a company of the 28th regiment Native Infantry to join our camp this evening, when I purpose reconnoitering the Ghat, but shall hold our present position, until reinforced by you with the remainder of the regiment.

* 3 Subadars, 3 Jemadars, 18 Havildars, 18 Naicks, 4 Buglers, 214 Sepoys.

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I am directed, in reply, to convey to you, his Lordship's full approval of the measures adopted for the coercion of the rebels. The Governor-General further, directs that you will instruct Mr. Lawrence, that no terms should be offered to the chief insurgents. Immediately they are captured, or surrender, they should be thrown into prison, there to await the pleasure of Government, respecting their final disposal.

Inclosure 43 in No. 42.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

*Camp, right bank of the Guggur,
December 11, 1848.*

THE Governor-General has had much satisfaction in perceiving the success which has attended the prompt and energetic measures of Mr. Lawrence; and he entirely approves of what has been done by Mr. Barnes. You will be pleased to intimate the same to those officers accordingly.

Inclosure 44 in No. 42.

Mr. Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Jullundur, December 11, 1848.

I ANNEX documents from Major Ferris, C.B., commanding the (Hill Regiment) 2nd Sikh Local Infantry; being the official account of the action of the 2nd instant and subsequent day, between the detachment of that corps and the insurgents near Teera. I have, already, expressed to you my opinion of the conduct and ability which Lieutenant Gordon evinced on that occasion.

It was of great importance that a forward movement should have been made towards Teera, in order to prevent the rebellion from spreading. It was also an object, if possible, to avoid an action, until Major Ferris, with the rest of the Hill Regiment, could join. The insurgents were aware that troops were on their way, and, therefore, hurried on the conflict. Mr. G. Barnes had written to Captain Tierney, commanding three companies of the 28th Native Infantry in Kangra, for aid, and that officer detached Lieutenant Kendall, with one company, to join Lieutenant Gordon; but, though the detachment was too late for the fight, they evinced their spirit and energy, by making a march of 33 miles in 15 hours, which, in a hilly country, was no ordinary performance. The presence of this company was, no doubt, also of use in the subsequent operations, and, probably, hastened the surrender of the Raja of Mulmoree.

The conduct of Raja Jodbeer Sing, of Nadow, is deserving of much commendation. He is a natural son of the famous Sunsar Chund, of Kangra, and therefore an uncle of the Mulmoree Raja, with whom he has long been at feud. Directly I heard of the insurrection, I wrote to Raja Jodbeer Sing, urging him to show his zeal and loyalty by assisting Mr. Barnes, and there is no doubt but that his move on Teera, direct from Nadow, at once, decided the struggle.

The 2nd Sikh Local Infantry, in its appearance and discipline, is not equal to the 1st regiment, but it has many tried soldiers in it, who formerly belonged to the late Major Broadfoot's sappers and Major Ferris' jezzailchees; the rest are Hill men of the Kangra district; and their local knowledge, and adaptation to the climate, and to service in a mountainous country, renders them peculiarly suited for such service as that they have now rendered.

Inclosure 45 in No. 42.

Mr. Lawrence to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Jullundur, December 11, 1848.

THE transactions of the past twenty days, as well as all the information which I have been able to obtain, leave no doubt on my mind but that emissaries from the Sikh chiefs in the Punjab, have been engaged in exciting our

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refractory persons above-mentioned, and in reply* that "If you remain in Kohat, people will say that Sooltan Mahomed, like Chuttur Sing, had revolted;" and, in this manner, has instilled suspicion of me into the mind of the Sahib Bahadoor, notwithstanding that many of my relatives are in his service; and has even suggested, that I ought to be hanged. When Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Khan Sing Rosa, and other Sikh officers importuned me to give up Major Lawrence, and said that they would take him by force, Colonel Alla Sing, son of Golab Sing, Povindea, said, in the public assembly, "Hajee Mahomed said before me, that, when the British Government have put down the revolt of the Sikhs, they will hang Sooltan Mahomed." On hearing this, I was quite disheartened; as far as lay in my power, I had endeavoured to save the Major Sahib from Chuttur Sing and the Sikhs, but they took him by force. If I had resisted further, they would have seized my children and family. The truth of this you may hear from any resident of Peshawur. Had my family not been in Peshawur, I would have defended the Major Sahib at the expense of my life.

Inclosure 4 in No. 43.

Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan to Lieutenant Taylor.

YOUR letter, with injunctions regarding the safety of the Mem Sahib and the children, has reached me. Regarding the coming of George Sahib (Major Lawrence) to Peshawur, my former letter will have given you the particulars that the Sikh troops, having entered Wuzeerabad, seized on the Major Sahib; I then said: "The Major Sahib is a man, and by men rough treatment and severity may be readily endured, but I will not give up the Mem Sahib and the children;" and, on this subject having taken a bond from the Sikh Sirdars, I took the Mem Sahib and the children under my especial care. After some days, the Sahib wrote a letter (which is now in the possession of Khoajah Mahomed Khan, and a copy of which I will send to you) for his children, and sent the Doctor Sahib to Kohat, to bring them. Whatever was necessary for the journey I furnished, and the Doctor Sahib went to Kohat, and brought the Major's children and his own. Among the Sikh Sirdars, three were averse to the Mem Sahib and the children being summoned, wherefore, it was my intention to have gone myself to Kohat, and to have arranged for their going, in the best manner practicable, but, while waiting for the departure of the Sikh Sirdars, the Doctor Sahib, on the part of the Major Sahib, went and fetched them according to his wish.

Inclosure 5 in No. 43.

The Resident at Lahore to the Governor-General.

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of the reply which you may have sent back, in order that I may know, more particularly, what your plans were for reinforcing me, and have my mind quite set at rest upon that score. Of myself, I shall merely say that, being identified with truth, Providence is most gracious to me.

As for the Feringees who have been such a long while encamped at the safe distance of three coss from Mooltan, not a night or day passes that I do not engage them where they are, either by a cannonade, or else hand to hand, with sword and musket and arrow. By the blessing of God, I have already killed some thousands of them, and have not half done with them yet. With the help of Providence, I hope the day has now come for these Feringees to be ruined, and utterly trodden under foot, in every direction.

Consider me as among the most devoted of your servants, and command me in every way, and let me hear often of your welfare.

Inclosure 8 in No. 43.

Dewan Moolraj to Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

YOUR friendly note, full of the good news of your continuing in good health, and (by the usual good fortune of the Sirkar!) Major George Lawrence, Bowie, the doctor, and the women and children, having been all made* . . . to you, by that well-wisher of the state, Sooltan Mahomed Khan; together with other particulars of the friendly inclinations of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, and also a copy of the Ameer's letter to you, all came safe to hand in a happy hour, and caused me the liveliest delight. Thank God you have got hold of those ill-bred Feringees! The tree of my hopes has indeed borne fruit; and the buds of my desire begin to blossom. The kindness of Heaven alone could have enabled you to do so brave and manly a deed, with such facility; and may the immortal God of the Khalsa bring to a speedy and successful issue what remains to be done at Attock, and bless you more and more. You have shown the wisdom of Aristotle, in inducing Dost Mahomed Khan to join you so heartily in serving our own Sirkar, and destroying the treaty-breaking Feringees; not to mention his sending his sons, Mahomed Uzul Khan and Mahomed Azim Khan, by the way of Koorum, to assist your humble servant. May God preserve you always, my dear friend! My pen is unequal to do justice to the manly courage you have brought to the assistance of your religion, and your country; so I shall content myself with one verse.

"What injury can come to the wall of which you are the cornice?"

For me, indeed, to advise you in these matters, is as preposterous as trying to instruct Æsop. All I say, therefore, is, go on, and do even more than you have done, and finish what is left to do, at Attock, without delay, in order that you may be at liberty to turn your steps this way; for the two armies of the Raja and the ill-bred English are now close to each other, and my anxieties are much more there, than here at Mooltan, where the accursed men are sitting down at my door. I took care that the letters you sent to Sheik Emamooddeen, and Cortlandt, and Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt, should reach them; but, unfortunates that they are, it is no secret that they have not yet proved faithful to their salt. Never mind! I and my troops are, as yet, unshaken; and the help of God is the one thing requisite at all times. Kindly send on my letter in reply to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, as also the order to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, concerning the non-receipt of his letter; and whenever the answers come back, be so good as to send them on. Write often, and let me know what I can do for you.

P.S.—Another thing: the ill-bred Feringees have sent one Taylor, and twelve other Feringees, in a steam-boat towards Dera Ismael Khan, with the view of getting, by that way, to Peshawur; but, for want of water in the river, the boat could not go on; and the said Taylor, with his twelve Feringees, having disguised themselves as fakeers, have set out for Peshawur. It is as well you should know this.

One word more: Raja Shere Sing, when he went away, was good enough to

* Sic in orig.

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Inclosure 11 in No. 43.

*Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.**Lukkee, December, 16, 1848.*

I INCLOSE two letters in original, received by Gholam Hussun Khan, yesterday, from Peshawur. When at Esakhail, I requested Gholam Hussun Khan to send trustworthy men to Peshawur, in addition to those whom I myself sent; he did so, and entrusted them with a letter from himself to Gool Bashah, a syud resident there, a respectable man whom I know well. The accompanying letter is his answer, which inclosed the letter from Dost Mahomed Khan to Gholam Hussun Khan, and which the latter immediately brought to me. Its contents did not much surprise me, though I do not yet believe them to set forth the true projects of the writer. In this letter, the Dost represents that he is engaged in a religious war against the English, but I shall be much surprised, if he crosses the Indus to carry it out. The hurkaras report verbally, as follows:—Dost Mahomed is very much displeased with his brother for his treacherous conduct towards Major Lawrence. He has entrusted the province of Peshawur to Gholam Hyder Khan, and told Sooltan Mahomed that he is to have nothing to say to it, and must do service for his Jagheers. Chuttur Sing was then at Peshawur, having returned from Attock, to pay his respects to the Dost, and he is represented to have requested permission to depart, which was refused by the Dost, unless he should give up the English prisoners to him. The Amcer has 40,000 men and 20 guns with him (this is, of course, assuredly, exaggerated); of the former 8,000 are regular infantry. The report is, that he intends to cross the Indus, and join the Sikh army. His arrival, with an army, at this juncture, is likely to increase our difficulties, and, as soon as it becomes known, it will, I fear, to a great extent, estrange the good feeling which, at present, exists towards us on this frontier. The exultation of Goolbadshah at the establishment of Mahomedan rule in Peshawur, exemplifies a feeling that must, I fear, spread much further. As for Dost Mahomed himself, I think he will, if possible, avoid collision with us, and befriend the Sikhs as little as he can help, and, should the game go against them, will try to make up matters, by representing how little assistance he gave them. His wish to gain possession of the English prisoners is based on the same plan I think; but in this I am only arguing on the hearsay evidence of the spies. It is strange, however, that this report, of Dost Mahomed Khan having forcibly detained Chuttur Sing, has been, for some time, prevalent.

As regards my own position here, this advent of Dost Mahomed and his army is calculated greatly to increase my difficulties. The Mullicks and Moolkias of Moorut have, for some time, shown an independent disaffected spirit, which I attribute to the prospect of Mahomedan rule on this side of the Indus. There is a son of Dost Mahomed at present in Khost (Mahomed Afzul Khan) with a certain force, but not, as far as I can ascertain, a stronger one than is usually sent, at this season, for the purpose of collecting the revenue. It is, however, constantly reported that this Sirdar is on his way to Bunnoo; that detachments have actually arrived, &c. These I believe generally to originate from Meer Alim Khan, the rebel Mullick of Bunnoo, and their effect is very bad. I do not consider myself in danger from the Dooranees, because my intelligence from that quarter is good; and, had they any intention of advancing thus far, I could retreat into the Dera Ismael Khan district, before they could come up. The danger is from the people about me, the Moolkias of Moorut, who would rather the district remained unsettled. Their conduct will be regulated entirely by the report of events in the great world. Thus, if a blow is struck between the Chenab and Jhelum, I should reckon confidently on their remaining quiet. If the Dooranees enter Bunnoo, this small force would not be safe for a day. The worst of it is that, owing to this possibility of attack from without, I am unable to divide my force sufficiently to completely invest the fort, though I hope to be able to accomplish this ere long.

I inclose a letter from Mullick Khan Deen Khan, who has done good service beyond the Salt range, by routing the rebel Gohur Sing and his troops. The news of this will reach Attock, and have a good effect. The siege of

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I have assembled all the officers, and read to them the letters addressed to the individuals above-mentioned, and, on their unanimously declaring that an answer should be sent such as would show the Ameer they would have nothing to say to his cause, I read to them the answer which was ready, and to which the principal attached their seals, &c., at their own request; thereby, voluntarily, answering that which I thought it advisable to keep from them.

This will enable me to hold on, I hope, for some days longer, but you must know how easily these people may be worked upon by religious excitement, and if the emissaries of the Ameer succeed in spreading, among the garrison, a belief that his war against us is the cause of Islam, I fear the consequence will be the loss of the fort, unless aid arrive very shortly.

Some of the men who showed symptoms of insubordination, and who were too numerous to be expelled at once, have again exhibited signs which threaten ill-conduct on their part, but I hope, by God's blessing, I may be able to keep them in check, for a time.

Sirdar Mahomed Shureef Khan may be expected at Khyrabad in a day or two, as I am assured he has quitted Peshawur, and he will then be in position which will give him great facilities in tampering with my people.

I hope I may not be considered too importunate in again urging the request, that you will do your utmost to hasten some troops to our aid, ere it is too late.

While writing the above, reports have been brought to me, indicative of a decided mutinous spirit on the part of a portion of the garrison, which I fear, it will be difficult to subdue. With such a force as mine, I am at the mercy of my men, and have but small power to punish.

Inclosure 14 in No. 43.

Answer which Syud Aheyooden, and Shahzada Mahomed Juruhoor, and Meer Ufzul Khan, Eusufzye, and Futteh Khan, Afredce, and the rest of the officers and Sepoys of the garrison of Attock, with the advice of Lieutenant Herbert, addressed to Gool Badshah, Peshawuree.

THANKS be to God that, up to the present writing, we are all well, and pray for your welfare. The letter which you sent with the letter of the exalted in rank, Sirdar Mahomed Shureef Khan, arrived safely, and we have learnt its contents. With regard to your injunction to us to leave the fort of Attock, and come out for the sake of our religion, let us ask which of your letters we are to comply with? Not many days are past since you sent us a letter, together with letters from Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and, with a thousand subterfuges, entreated of us to come over to you. If we had acted upon that letter of yours, of a surety we should now have been prisoners in the hands of Chuttur Sing. But the blessing of God was with us, that we took not your advice, but acted on our own judgment. You now write, that the Ameer Saib Dost Mahomed Khan is an aspirant for martyrdom (*i. e.*, intends to wage a war against infidels); and you call on us to join in this holy cause. Good friend! if we could see that the Ameer Saib, having devoted himself to the cause of the true faith, had come in the first instance, waged war, and fought with the race of Sikhs, who are infidels—without the Book, and worshippers of idols—and, afterwards, engaged in a contest with the English (Sahiban Angrez), it would then be evident to all that this was a war for the interests of the true faith (jehad). Be assured that we also would then range ourselves in the army of the Ameer, to fight in the true cause; but as we see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, that the Ameer Saib, actuated merely by worldly interests and motives, has entered into an alliance and friendship with the Sikhs, and, from a desire of acquiring new territory, has entered into hostilities with the English; in this act, we are unable to discern how the objects of religion are to be forwarded; and we, who are the servants, and are eating the salt of the English,—how can we desire that the Sikhs should be victorious over them? At present, hostilities are being carried on between the army of the English and of the Sikhs. If the Sikhs are defeated by the English, it is our belief that, then, the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan himself will court the alliance and friendship of the British. If the army of the English is

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I have had accounts of it from parties who were eye-witnesses to the personal gallantry and energy of Lieutenant Hodson, by whose hand, in single conflict, the Akalee fell, after he had beaten off four of the sowars of the 15th Irregulars; and to whose bold activity, indefatigable exertions, and the admirable arrangements made by him, with the small means at his disposal, the successful issue of this excursion is to be attributed.

The whole of this side of the Chenab is now free from marauders, with the exception of a party (Narazun Sing's from Mooltan), which is still, (or was five days ago), surrounded in the fort of Chuniote, by the Mahomedan population, under two chiefs in our interest—Lungur Khan of Sahiwal, and Sahib Khan Towannah.

The Commander-in-Chief would have sent a detachment after this party, several days ago, but an erroneous statement was made by Major Mackeson of their having effected their escape from Chuniote, and joined Shere Sing's army. Chuniote is not more than two marches from Ramnuggur, on the left bank of the Chenab.

Inclosure 18 in No. 43.

Lieutenant W. S. Hodson to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Sealkote, December 23, 1848.

IN a letter of the 13th instant, from Deenanuggur, I had the honor of bringing to your notice the renewal, by the party of insurgents under Prem Sing, Jhulua, and Gunda Sing, of the depredations which had been temporarily suppressed by the march of Brigadier-General Wheeler's column, across the Rechna Doab, after the capture of the fort of Kullalwala. As soon as I was enabled, by the arrival of Sirdar Shumshere Sing, to leave the neighbourhood of Deenanuggur, I re-crossed the Ravee; and, in a second letter from Mungh-Munáseh of the 15th instant, informed you of the position of the insurgents, and the hopes I entertained of being able to come up with them.

I now report my further proceedings in furtherance of that object, which has resulted, I am happy to say, in the total discomfiture of the insurgents, and

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Inclosure 20 in No. 43.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, December 25, 1848.

AS it appears to me desirable that the Governor-General should know the names of the openly disaffected Sirdars of the Lahore State, I submit a list of those who are ascertained to be in rebellion and insurrection.

I have not inserted the names of those who are doubtful, or who have been forcibly prevented committing themselves, as Golab Sing, Nar Sing, and Bishen Sing, Attareewalas, Jhunda Sing (of whose treachery Captain Abbott is so convinced), or Khan Sing, Man, at Mooltan.

Nor have I inserted the names of kardars, duffories, and other paid officials, who have joined the rebel standard.

Nor the Barukzye Sirdars, extensive Jagheerdars in Peshawur.

The names of three persons, not actually in armed rebellion, are inserted, viz. :

Runjore Sing, Majeetia, convicted of treacherous correspondence with Moolraj, and in confinement;

Heera Sing, the Maharanee's brother, sent out of the Punjab in August last, on account of disaffection; and,

Goordut Sing, Mulwye, detected in correspondence with the insurgents, and in confinement.

With the exception of these three, all, whose names are inserted, are in the rebel ranks.

The list is not, I dare say, a full one; there may be some names omitted. The names of none but Jagheerdars, with the rank of Sirdar, are entered.

Inclosure 21 in No. 43.

List of the openly-disaffected Sirdars of the Lahore State, ascertained to be in rebellion and insurrection.

1. Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Attareewala.
2. Raja Shere Sing, Attareewala.
3. Sirdar Ootar Sing, Attareewala.
4. Sirdar Urjun Sing, Rungurnuglia.
5. Sirdar Urbeil Sing, Sheekoporeah.
6. Sirdar Purtab Sing, Munás.
7. Sirdar Urjun Sing, Nulwa.
8. Sirdar Jowahir Sing, Nulwa.
9. Sirdar Jooh Sing, Hurchunder.
10. Sirdar Jowahir Sing, Kalade.
11. Sirdar Bhoota Sing, Kumlah.
12. Sirdar Khurgun Sing, Mokul.
13. Sirdar Dul Sing, Munás.
14. Sirdar Dhora Sing, Nukye.
15. Sirdar Ruttun Sing, Gurchakee.
16. Sirdar Kurm Sing, Gurchakee.
17. Sirdar Golab Sing, Gurchakee.
18. Sirdar Soorjun Sing, Mokul.
19. Sirdar Soodh Sing, Cheeneh.
20. Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Mareewalah.
21. Sirdar Soorutt Sing, Majeetia.
22. Sirdar Goordut Sing, Mulwye.
23. Sirdar Nehal Sing, Summa.
24. Sirdar Vusawur, Sing, Majeetia.
25. Sirdar Veer Sing, Jullawassia.
26. Sirdar Hurmut Sing, Hazarawaleah.
27. Sirdar Lal Sing, Morareea.
28. Sirdar Khoseal Sing, Morareea.

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No. 44.

*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.**Camp, Mukkoo, January 22, 1849. (No. 6.)*

SINCE my last despatch, events of great importance have taken place in the Punjab.

The Commander-in-chief, being informed, on the 10th instant, of the fall of Attock, and the advance of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, to join the main body of the enemy under Shere Sing, determined to attack the latter, and, accordingly, moved with the British army from Loah Tibbee, at daylight of the 12th, to Dingee, a distance of about 12 miles; from Dingee, he advanced, on the morning of the 13th, towards Chillianwalla. He approached this place about noon, and, having driven back the enemy's picket, which was posted on a mound, took up a position in rear of a village; the enemy opened a fire from some horse-artillery on the skirmishers in front of the village, and a general action ensued, which lasted till after nightfall, terminating in the defeat of Shere Sing's force, and the capture of twelve of his guns; for particulars of the action, and of the loss sustained by the British troops, which I deeply regret to say has been very great, I refer you to the despatch* of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, dated the 16th instant, and to its inclosed list.

On intelligence of this victory reaching me, I ordered a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired at all the stations of the army. Regarding the services of the officers and men engaged in the action, I intend addressing you, further, by the next mail.

The spirit of the enemy has not been utterly subdued by the defeat he has sustained: though driven from his positions, he has not crossed the Jhelum, but is still in force on this side.

That Dost Mahomed Khan has taken a part in the hostility which has caused the fall of Attock, no doubt can now be entertained.

Lieutenant Herbert's letter† of the 2nd of January reports the arrival of this Prince, with the main body of his army, at the ferry on the right bank of the Indus, on the 1st instant. Lieutenant Herbert saw a portion of the army commence the passage of the river, and, then, finding the feeling of his men to be such that there was no chance of their opposing the Ameer, he determined, if possible, to escape. Captain Abbott's letter‡ of the 5th instant relates the particulars of Lieutenant Herbert's escape, and expresses fears that he may have been intercepted. Dost Mahomed himself, it is said, has not crossed the Indus, but he has sent a Vakeel to Cashmere, to ascertain the feeling of Golab Sing towards him, and to request his aid in money.

Among the inclosures will be found Major-General Whish's letter§ reporting the capture, by storm, on the 2nd instant, of the fortified city of Mooltan. I am happy to say the loss attending this exploit was very small. On the 18th, the mine was exploded, and the counterscarp was blown in. I am expecting now daily, to hear of the fall of the citadel, immediately after which event, the greater portion of the Mooltan force will proceed to cooperate with his Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

From other quarters where hostilities prevailed, I have received favorable accounts. The Fort of Lukkee was captured by Lieutenant Taylor, before the arrival of the reinforcements dispatched by Major Edwardes; and Ram Sing has been dislodged, by Brigadier-General Wheeler's force, from the difficult position which he occupied, in the hills about Noorpoor. The public dispatches announcing these two events have not yet been received.

* Inclosure 52 in No. 44.

† Inclosure 10 in No. 44.

‡ Inclosure 9 in No. 44.

§ Inclosure 25 in No. 44.

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much longer in the Punjab ; a few months would see them across the Sutlej. He told me he thought it right to let me know this, as the hints had been so frequently repeated, and had been mentioned to him by all his assistants on detached duty. Similar statements will be found in Captain Abbott's papers.

These circumstances made me the more particular in my inquiries on the subject, and I found that there was a very prevalent and pervading belief, that there would be a general disturbance, before many months were passed, but, beyond the fact that the Maharanee was to be the principal agent, I could obtain nothing circumstantial.

The arrangements, which had been all made before my arrival, for the change of administration in Mooltan, and the circumstances under which the British officers proceeded to that province, with the sad events which followed, are known to the Government. At this time, the conspiracy for tampering with the sepoys of the garrison, was discovered, and, though there was much reason to suspect that this was part of some more extensive scheme, there was no proof of any of the Sirdars, or others beyond the immediate dependants of the Maharanee, being concerned in the actual communication with the sepoys.

The voluntary confession of Gunga Ram, the confidential vakeel of the Maharanee, made the night before his execution, stated that the Mooltan murders were premeditated, and preconcerted by Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, with the Maharanee, before he went to Mooltan, and that the Maharanee was in correspondence with all the Chiefs and Sirdars, except Raja Deena Nuth, and with Maharajah Golab Sing, for the organization of resistance to the British power ; and that the chiefs who had gone to Mooltan, would not act against Moolraj. Gunga Ram would give no proof of what he stated, but said, if his life was spared, he would give information of the last importance to the British Government. It was, of course, impossible to spare his life, on these terms. His confession, implicating the chiefs in treasonable intentions, was forwarded to Government.

It became known to me at that time, that the departure of our troops for Mooltan would have been the signal for a rising, and an attack on Lahore, with the hope of aid from the native troops of the garrison. This fact was notorious, but it was not possible to obtain legal evidence of it, or to fix complicity on any of the Chiefs, or on any individual.

Towards the end of May, or the beginning of June, an officer, intimately connected with the Durbar, sent to me a private message, to say that, if I would allow him to visit me after nightfall, secretly, and that no one connected with the Durbar should know of his coming, he would tell me matters which it much concerned me to be acquainted with. I had several visits from this person, whose name I promised should not be divulged. He assured me that the intention of an insurrection, with the view of getting rid of the English from the Punjab, had been constantly agitated, since the very hour of signing the Treaty, and had never been lost sight of. He said, that the Preyma plot, as it is usually called, was not the scheme of a few parties in the Ranee's interest, but was known to almost every one but the immediate intended victims, and that all subsequent operations, had the murder at Shalimar taken place, were planned. He stated that, from the time of the Maharanee's residence at Sheikhoopoor, intrigues had been constantly on foot ; and that, during the last cold weather, a plan for a general insurrection had been determined on, in concert with Maharajah Golab Sing ; that the Barukzye Chiefs had been sounded, and had been promised Peshawur, as the reward of their cooperation.

It was from the statements of this individual, corroborated in many points from various other sources, *i.e.*, by the oral statement of other parties, and the occurrence of events in accordance with his disclosures, that I made the report to Government.

It was asserted, by this person, that the visit of Mean Jowahir Sing to Lahore, at the time it took place, was in connection with the Sheikhoopoor intrigues, and that he withdrew from the affair, as most others had, for the present, done, in consequence of the occurrences at Mooltan, which had introduced Dewan Moolraj into the affair, who was not intended to have a part, and whose conduct had caused a disturbance in Mooltan, prematurely. The first outbreak was to have taken place in Mooltan, but it was to have been

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important as showing the feelings and purposes of the people, cannot fail to bring conviction of their general correctness.

From all that has come to my knowledge, since I have been at Lahore, I am quite convinced that, long before the Mooltan outbreak, there was a plan for an insurrection, which was to take place during the current year, in which nearly all the Sirdars were to join, and of which the Ranee was the prime mover.

The premature outbreak at Mooltan, and the discovery of the attempt, on the part of the Ranee and some of her adherents, to corrupt the sepoys, with the executions which followed, disconcerted the conspirators much; and the subsequent removal of the Maharanee herself from the scene of her intrigues, had the effect of baffling all their schemes for a time.

But the purpose was never lost sight of, as subsequent events have proved, though many circumstances occurred to retard the accomplishment of the scheme, among which the discomfiture of Bhace Maharaj Sing and his large band of followers, and the successes obtained over Moolraj by Major Edwardes and Bahawal Khan's armies, are the chief.

Statement of the Case of Shibdiyal Poorohit.

TOWARDS the end of the month of June, a Jemadar in the intelligence department of the Lahore magistracy, named Gama Beg, gave me information that a goldsmith, called Muharaj, had told him that the Maharanee's priest, Shibdiyal, was in the habit of carrying on a clandestine correspondence with Her Highness, and that a man named Mohun, who used to write the letters, and who was a servant of Shibdiyal's, had absconded, on the seizure of Khan Sing and Gunga Ram, taking with him various papers. I, at first, discredited the story; but, as the goldsmith persisted in the truth of his statement, I sent out the Jemadar to seize Mohun and the papers. In a few days, he returned, bringing with him the man, on whose person were found a great number of letters and a small amulet. The priest Shibdiyal, who was then in Lahore, was immediately arrested.

On opening the amulet, which was carefully soldered down, two letters were found to the address of the Maharanee, one purporting to be from Moolraj, and the other from Sirdar Khan Sing, Man. The amulet was brought from Mooltan by a man named Tiloka, or Tilok Sing, disguised as a fakcer, and was given into the hands of Shibdiyal. It arrived, however, the day after the execution of Khan Sing and Gunga Ram, and was consequently not delivered; both the priest and Mohun having absconded immediately afterwards. The priest finding his name had not been alluded to, returned again to Lahore. The result of the inquiry, and of the Goormookhee letters found on the person of Mohun, is to prove that Sirdar Khan Sing, Man, carried on a treasonable correspondence with the Maharanee, through her family priest, Shibdiyal, having in view the corruption of the British Sepoys, and showing his intention to stir up a rebellion on his receiving charge of Mooltan.

The priest was the medium of correspondence, all letters passing through his hands, and those from the Sirdar, having the priest's seal attached.

The letters tell a plain, well connected, and, apparently, correct story, which it is difficult to imagine could have been fabricated. They are confirmed not only by internal evidence, but by circumstantial facts derived from the Preyma conspiracy, and the recent plot of General Khan Sing and Gunga Ram.

The proofs against Sirdar Khan Sing are confirmed, by the confession of Gunga Ram, on the night before he was hung (See confession taken by Lieutenant Hodson), and by allusions contained in a recent letter of the Maharanee to the Resident, which says, "if you wish to know who stirred up the rebellion in Mooltan, ask Khan Sing, Man."

With regard to Shibdiyal, the proof seems conclusive. His name is mentioned by no less than four defendants in the Preyma plot; by Boota Sing, the Ranee's Moonshee, by Maun Sing Muhung, by Thakoo Doss, Preyma's Moonshee, and by Huryut Khan, as having been in the habit of visiting the Preyma conspirators, on the part of the Ranee, and of conveying letters from her to Preyma.

It is also proved that he absconded on Preyma's being arrested, and, further,

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No. 3. Written to the Beebee Sahib by her servant Khan Sing.*

* Sirdar Khan Sing, N

After respects.

My representation is as follows: On Tuesday, at 8 o'clock in the morning, I took leave from Lahore to go to Mooltan, when Currie Sahib sent for Mol Sing, and told him to get an acknowledgment from the Maharanee, saying that she was contented. The Rajas gave Currie Sahib a bribe, and the matter was consequently abandoned. All the respectable officers in the regiments have told me to write to the Mai Sahib (Maharanee) not to leave Sheikhoopoor and come to Lahore, even if the English should go to bring her away. They say, "When we have killed the Europeans, we will release her." I have obtained the Government of Mooltan by your kindness; this will turn out well for you. I have no care for the Soobedarship; I only wish to devote my body to your service, that all the world may know who was faithful, and did good service, to his mistress. All the Rajas are faithless to their salt. This is my wish; do not lose confidence by my going to Mooltan. I am not going to take charge of the Soobah. I will quickly make my arrangements regarding the fort and troops of Mooltan, as well as the Puthans. In Lahore I have already settled my plans with the regiments and artillery, and have brought about an introduction between them and Shibdiyal,* who is concerned in the whole matter. The affair is in his hands. From the beginning, my ideas have been the same as his. I have made over to the Shibdiyal money for all expenses, and have told him that I will give more, if necessary. I have already spent much, but it has been given by you, and employed in your service. The Gooroo is granting victory, and if we win, the expenses I have been put to will be gain, and I shall have a reckoning with you afterwards. Shibdiyal has spent 10,000 rupees. He will send me reports concerning the Tilingees, and will write to me, while I will keep him informed of all my plans, and he will reply to you. I have ordered the troops to obey the instructions of Dada Shibdiyal, whether he order during the day or during the night, and to attend to him as they would to myself. The Sepoys told me that all the English karkhana was in their charge, and that both the guns and the troops were in their hands; that they would conquer in an hour, on my writing to them, and that they would murder the guards. Every one says that Currie Sahib has come here for some particular purpose. I will settle his business, will take Lahore without a struggle, and rescue you from Sheikhoopoor. What crime have you committed? I shall consider that I have been as one unborn, until I can get the heads of the Europeans strewed about Lahore. When I have settled my plans at Mooltan, I will write to the Sepoys at Lahore. You have written to me to send all letters through Russool or Hurnund Mier. This I shall attend to. All the world shall see and hear of my services.

(Seal of Shibdiyal.)

No. 4. Written to the Beebee Sahib Jee by Khan Sing, Man.

After respects.

Gunga Ram has given your Moorasila to Currie Sahib, who has not mentioned anything about it to any one. Currie sent for the Rajas, and told them that he had received a message from the Maharanee, stating that she was undergoing a great deal of hardship, and that this ought to be put a stop to. The Rajas on hearing this, assembled in Tej Sing's house, and consulted together. They agreed that they must be informed of the contents of the Maharanee's Moorasila, and said that they could manage the matter, if they all consented to one thing. I said, "Rajajee! the grief that has been felt by the Malik (Maharanee) will be felt once more (by you)." Tej Sing said, "I know well, that what took place to Raja Lall Sing will also happen to me; I always said, let the Rane meet with the fate of Chund Kour. She must be stoned; but all opposed my opinion." I understand that Tej Sing has been told not to ride about in a four-horse carriage; and the Moolvee was heard to say that Raja Tej Sing would be excluded from the council. You wrote to me to mention your wishes in the council, and see what the Sahibs have to say. Have confidence in me; I will do all in my power.

When you favor me, what fear have I? Currie Sahib said to *Siraj-ud-Daula* "You are the son of the former Wuzeer of the Maharaja, have *no connection with the Rane?*"

* This Shibdiyal was implicated in the Preyma case of last year, but succeeded in effecting his escape. He fled to Cashmere, and when the British had blown over, returned to Lahore. On Khan Sing and Gunga Ram being seized, he absconded, finding that his name was alluded to, came back to Lahore where he was arrested.

The moorasila here alluded to was mislaid by the Rane some days, which accounts for the expression used.

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of several people, but whose I do not know. Several Sepoys among the troops have been seized through him, while some have escaped. On Friday a proclamation was issued, that all persons joining in the Mooltan rebellion would be punished. Gunga Ram's mother and sister were seized, and beaten, and the amulet demanded of them. There was some paper in it.

Raja Fyzdeen has been ordered to enlist 2000 men, and Sheik Emamooddeen has been told to raise two regiments. They were going to seize the Sadh in Anarkulle.* I received intelligence of this, and procured his escape. Oomrao Sing, Poombur ran off with him. They have gone to Mooltan.† Toolsee Ram has mentioned seven names, but I know nothing further. Edwardes Sahib has marched down the river with the Bunnoo troops. Dewan Moolraj's troops have retreated and fled; you have no friend now here. On the 25th, Jeth Jowahir Sing left this. On Saturday evening Mudhoosoodun Pundit arrived in Lahore. All your powder has been thrown into a well. Look to God, and make some arrangements. Some day the Maharaja will be sent away from hence. (Seal of Shibdiyal.)

* Govind Dos, liv
lines of the 50th Nativ

See No. 13.

† Oomrao seized :
at Mooltan.

No. 8. Written to the Beebee Sahib by Shibdiyal.

Your servant, Nurunjun, has arrived with your order, and the property, which I have received; its value is 11,000, and with this sum the affair cannot be accomplished. You have desired me to send for more, if required. I will send the day after to-morrow one of my confidential servants. I will send a man to Nurunjun, who will forward him to you. In future do not send gold or jewels, but a draft on Hurjass, jeweller, or Gungoo Shah. Where can I sell the gold and jewels? If you have any suspicion against me, I call down imprecations upon myself, if I do anything contrary to your interests. What you have already sent, and all you may send in future, I will collect, and then distribute it to the troops. In two or three days I will do this, and the affairs will be carried into execution.

See No. 1, Nurunju

Do you fear, on account of the former affair, (the Preyma plot?), in which a large sum was spent, but the scheme spoilt? I have sworn to accomplish this matter. The only fear is about money. Except this, there is no cause for fear. (Seal of Shibdiyal.)

No. 9. Written to the Beebee Sahib by Shibdiyal.

A letter has arrived from Khan Sing, in which he writes professions of fidelity on his own part, and on the part of Dewan Moolraj, and says, "Be assured, you will now see with your own eyes the fruit of the representations I made to you before. Moolraj has plenty of money, and the Shroffs will give him more fight. If you want more money, you can get it. The Dewan has written to the Hazara and Peshawur troops, promising them 15 rupees monthly. He is constantly recruiting. Be careful in your management. When I have settled affairs here, I will come to Lahore, and display my services." Further, Khan Sing writes, "Be assured when I can find an opportunity I will come to you. According to your orders, I have sent a messenger to Golab Sing, on your part, and he has arrived there. The Raja has sent letters of encouragement to you, and says, "Don't be afraid; they (the British) will not remain many days longer. I have arranged my plans. The Dooranee people have joined me, and I have sent a force from Cashmere to Jummoo. From the latter place they will be sent on." A man leaves this daily. People who come from Jummoo to go to Mooltan collect together in Lahore. Some put up in the villages on the road, and some near the city. When the Peshawur troops have commenced the matter, the Dooranee will join them, and advance to the Attock. The Jummoo troops will march hither. All depends upon the will of Deveen.

No. 10. Repetition of No. 9.

No. 11. Letter in Persian from Shibdiyal to Mohun.

No. 12. Agreement of Shibdiyal to pay Mohun 10 rupees a-month as an amanuensis.

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Sing, write to him, for now is the time. If the present moment should pass, it will be too late. In future you are master. (supposed signature of Khan Sing.)*

No. 16. Letter in form of an ukbar.

The hurkara (Goolaba) was told at the place of execution to give information of the names of the persons concerned. He said he did not know their names but could recognise them if the troops were drawn up. Arrangements have been made for removing you, but I do not know the details. A plan has also been laid for seizing Budamoo (servant-girl of the Maharanee).

Moolsee Ram has mentioned seven other names, but they have not been mentioned. Oomrao Sing of Jerinja, says—"You take merchandise, and don't touch it. If you choose to pay for it, the traffic may still be carried on. The trade was spoilt, and the merchants ruined. Send the price, and the trade shall be made."

None of your friends are left here.

On Saturday some regiments were drawn up near the Moree and Cashmere and the hurkara was told to point out the men concerned in the conspiracy. The hurkara pointed out a soobadar, and said—"I cannot recognise any else." It was then settled that a second examination should take place the next afternoon. In the night the soobadar was prepared to desert. 200 men were also ready to start, but, having consulted together, did not do so.

No. 17. Written to the Beebee Sahibjee and the Maharaja.

The string has been put round the cow's (Maharanee's) neck by the means, who are pulling her members to pieces. The master of the cow says—"Release my cow. Buy twelve rupees worth of grain" (alluding to twelve rupees as pay of sepoys who join in the conspiracy). A letter has been sent to Raja Golab Sing, who says in reply—"The order of the English is to be opposed by me." This is not grain which I alluded to above, but for the sepoys. Khan Sing is your mookhtar. He has united with himself in his design Runjore* Sing and Urjun Sing.

Letters have been sent by the sepoy here to the Jullundur Doab through Jowahir Sing, to persuade the sepoys there to join also in the plan for releasing the cow, and giving her assistance. This they have consented to do, and letters have been received from them. Some day must be fixed, and when this has been settled the matter will be accomplished. Khan Sing sent me to Jowahir in the Aloowala's garden, where I had a conversation with him.

I have already mentioned to you what kind of a person Jowahir Sing is. The sepoys here and at Jullundur, who have joined us, have been promised a reward.

No. 18. Receipt of Mohun for fifteen rupees, received from Shibdiyal, a reward for writing work.

No. 19. Receipt of Shibdiyal, bearing his seal.

No. 20. Receipt of Shibdiyal, bearing his seal (same as on other letters) acknowledging the receipt of money from Mohun.

No. 21. Written to the Beebee Sahibjee by Khan Sing.

The matter is as follows. On Thursday, Currie Sahib sent for Mol Sing, and told him that he had already directed the Maharanee's Razeenama to be brought to him, and that by the Governor-General's statement, it appeared that Jowahir Sing was in constant communication with her. Mol Sing promised to give an answer the next day.

On Friday, Shumshere Sing sent a letter refusing to take charge of the Jullundur territory, and saying that he was a soldier, and unacquainted with such matters.

Raja Tej Sing said, "Tell the Sahibs they will make some other arrangements."

* There is some doubt concerning this signature. It is not the one of the Sirdar, and resembles somewhat that of Raja Lal Singh. It is said, however, that the signature is some private signature in the family, unknown to strangers.

This letter and No. 14 were found in the amulet seized on the person of Mohun, which arrived a day or two after the execution of Khan Sing and Gunga Ram. It was, consequently, not delivered by L. I.

No. 16 unsent.

* This is the only mention made in these papers of Sirdar Runjore Sing, but he is notoriously disaffected. His name was constantly mentioned last year in the Preym plot, and there is no doubt that he carried on a secret correspondence with Moolraj. His complicity in the conspiracy generally, is proved by his attempt to escape, after his being arrested, and by his having destroyed, or concealed, all papers after the year 1902.

L. B.

This receipt bears precisely the same seal as that on the letters.

L. B.

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Chuttur Sing, nephew of Meean Sing, Cashmercewala, is your servant, and has sent a letter for you, which answer, and give him every encouragement.

Last year you sent me to Cashmere; I then said to you, "write," which you did not.

This you afterwards regretted, and if you, now, do not spend plenty of money, you will have as much cause for regret as you had then. 800 or 900 Poorbeahs are collected here, and their expenses must be paid; some getting 10 rupees, others 20 rupees. This matter is settled. You must send money.

No. 23. Unimportant.

No. 24. From the Mai (Maharanee) to Khan Sing Man and Shibdiyal Poorohit.

Copy of former letter 30.

Your letter has arrived, and I have comprehended its contents. I have also understood what you write concerning occurrences in the month of Chait.

You say that the hoondie was torn. Don't be afraid; Jeebun Sing has written to say that he has no money for his expenses, so I have sent him a bill for 50,000.

Deena Nath sent a man to me to ask whether I considered those to be enemies who were really faithful, and saying that he was still my servant, and would make arrangements for me in Lahore.

To this I replied, when the Gooroo orders me, I will go, and not delay. Ruttun Vizier's son, Poonoo, was sent to me by the Raja, telling me to write to him, that he would do good service, that he was my servant, and that his only object was to please me.

I did not reply.

The man remained with me for some time.

I will not act according to your advice.

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Statement made by Sirdar Lal Sing, Kaleewala.

On the 23rd Jeth, 1904, corresponding with 3rd of June, 1847, I was sent by the Durbar to Hussan Abdal in charge of 500 sowars, and remained there till 23rd Baisakh, 1905 (3rd of May, 1848), when I received an order to join Shere Sing, on the way to Mooltan immediately. On the 18th Jeth, I joined him. On the 12th, Bahadoor Soorutt Sing, Majeetia, who is now in rebellion, came to visit me. I asked him the cause of the disturbances in Hazara, saying that I little thought a man so weak and enfeebled as Chuttur Sing, could have originated them.

In reply, he stated as follows: "When I was deputed by the Durbar to proceed to Peshawur in the month Baisakh, 1904 (or April 1847), I went to Bagh Boota to meet Sirdar Chuttur Sing. Chuttur Sing said, 'Khan Sing, Majeetia, is also coming from Lahore, and will go to Peshawur; when he arrives, come with him to see me before proceeding onwards.' I then went to Syud Keisra, my jagheer, where I remained for some time; and on Khan Sing's arrival we went together to Chuttur Sing.

"Chuttur Sing said, 'the British have behaved harshly to the Maharanee, in sending her to Sheikhoopoor. It is better that the Punjab should be devastated and plundered. It is to be lamented that no one of the Durbar prevented this act, by which the honor of the State has been compromised. Shere Sing has conducted himself in a manner unbecoming my son. Of what avail is his Rajaship, when his honor is gone? The best thing to be done is, that I go to Lahore, and request the British to release the Maharanee. If I am unsuccessful, well; but if not, I will give up my jagheer, and not enjoy the fruits of ingratitude in my old age. I will then create a disturbance in the Hazara country, and, collecting the people of the various tuppehs (districts), turn the British out of Lahore.' Khan Sing replied, 'that such an undertaking could not be attempted without the aid of Raja Golab Sing, as the British were well provided with guns and ammunition.' Chuttur Sing determined to send Bukshee Narayn Sing to Cashmere, saying that Golab Sing would agree to anything which he (Chuttur Sing) proposed. The Bukshee was accordingly dispatched with a Moorasila. Khan Sing, and I then took leave of Chuttur Sing, and went to Peshawur, requesting Chuttur Sing to inform us of the Maharaja's reply. Some time after, Chuttur Sing wrote to us, saying that Golab Sing had refused to have anything to do with the matter, saying, that he placed no faith in the Sikhs, who had murdered so many members of his family; but, at the same time, stated that, if Chuttur Sing would swear by the yellow Punjee, and on the Grunth, that he would devote his life, and his property, to any plan which Golab Sing might desire, the Maharajah would place reliance in his professions. Khan Sing and I took the oath of the Punjee and the Grunth, and forwarded it to Chuttur Sing, who, having also taken the prescribed oath, and attached his seal, sent the paper, through a confidential servant, to Golab Sing, who gave him an interview in a house only frequented by himself and Dewan Jowala Sahae. The Maharaja showed the messenger a great quantity of arms and ammunition, which were in the above house, saying that he had been occupied for the space of a year in collecting these materials. He further said, that the conduct of the British had changed, that they had not left even the remnant of a sovereignty in Lahore, and had acted contrary to the Treaty, in assuming the supreme power. He added, that he now placed confidence in Chuttur Sing's promises, but stipulated that the latter should commence operations, by creating a disturbance in Hazara.

"The messenger was then dismissed, and instructed to request Chuttur Sing to write to Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Dost Mahomed Khan to assist in the undertaking. This Chuttur Sing did, on receiving the Maharaja's message; and the person sent by him, whose name is Bukshee, remained a month and a half, in Peshawur, in the house in which Khan Sing and myself resided. He arrived at Peshawur in the month of Asooj, delivered, himself, Chuttur Sing's letter to Sooltan Mahomed, and forwarded that addressed to Dost Mahomed, through a confidential servant of the latter.

"Dost Mahomed Khan wrote in reply, that if he afforded his aid to Chuttur Sing, the latter should stipulate to give up, to the brothers of the Dost, the whole of the country from Peshawur to Attock, promising not to demand anything for the expenses of the affair, until it should be accomplished.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 44.

Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.

Lukkee, December 25, 1848.

THE garrison of Lukkee still remains contumacious; yesterday they themselves opened negotiations for the surrender of the fort, merely a pretence to gain time; and, this morning, I received an absurd request that I should myself go in person to summon the fort, or send my own moonshee to treat with them. I have not a doubt but that they would like much to secure hostages for their own purposes. Seeing that they had no real intention of surrendering at present, I opened a fire from our new battery which is at a distance of about 280 or 300 yards from the walls, and kept it up briskly till evening. I cannot say that the result was satisfactory. The guns are so old and bad, and the shot small and not fitting the guns, that it is, in the first place, difficult to make good practice with them, and, in the second, the effect of the shot on the walls is very trifling. The garrison, who have two good guns of larger calibre, returned our fire with interest. Their practice was very good; about the third shot, they hit one of our guns in the muzzle, through the embrasure—another shot struck the board in a spare embrasure, knocking down the gunner, who was leaning against it. I have no further intelligence of any intentions of the Barukzyes to take possession of Bunnoo, and advance this way. Meer Alim Khan's force has split up, a number of his men having joined Jaffier Khan, whom I sent to wage war against him, and keep him from assisting the Lukkee garrison. One of Meer Alim Khan's jemadars came into me to-day, and tells me that Mahomed Azim Khan, son of the Dost, at present in Khost, sent men to Meer Alim Khan to see the state of things in Bunnoo; and, though Meer Alim is anxious enough that the Dooranees should come, the jemadar's idea is, that they would not give a very favorable report to their master. The report, then, at Bunnoo was, that I had arrived with a strong force, guns, &c., at Lukkee; an account much corroborated by the conduct of the Lukkee garrison themselves, from whom messages arrived, while the Dooranees were themselves present, begging for assistance, and, as an argument to spur Meer Alim in that cause, saying that they must give up the fort the very next day, if assistance did not arrive. I hear from Nicholson, that the army is to move towards Goojerat; that will give the Sings a fair field, and cause difficulty; of course, a very unimportant feature of the case. I am much annoyed about this Lukkee affair, but still do not actually regret having engaged in it. I think the possession of Lukkee extremely important, for the integrity of our frontier, and protection of these provinces. Supposing it garrisoned by loyal troops, the revenue might be collected with ease, and no enemy, unaccompanied by a large force, could enter the country; but if in the hands of rebels, they may be reinforced, at any time, from Peshawur, or the Pindie Ghebee country; and the whole of the country above the Punnealla and Pezzoo passes must be lost immediately. Again, so much vacillation, and disunion, has been apparent among the members of the garrison, and it has always been so much the opinion of those about me, that they would quickly yield, that I hope I cannot fairly be accused of imprudence in attempting to force them to yield; nearly 110 men have come out of the fort; and those that remain, amounting still to 300 men, are much divided, and many anxious to desert. I have every dependence on the spirit of the irregular troops under the Tonk Khans, who are with me, and the latter have all the qualities that could be wished in assistants in such a game.

Inclosure 5 in No. 44.

Lieutenant Herbert to the Resident at Lahore.

Attock, December 26, 1848.

DURING the course of the last few days, Dooranee soldiers, horse and foot, have been arriving, in small parties, at Khyrabad.

Yesterday morning, observing that men were employed repairing one of the batteries, on that side of the river, left by the Sikhs, I fired a few round shot

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They add that the Affghans might fight against the Ameer for a few days, if they had certain information of our troops having advanced some distance on this side of the Jhelum, say to Rawulpindee, by the time he may reach the Indus, but that would be the only cause of their standing by us, or rather not becoming enemies.

I am unwilling to agree with them, but they should be good judges. You may depend, however, on my not leaving the place while a hope remains. My trust is in the merciful protection of Him who is the only giver of all victory, and who has granted me success thus far.

Inclosure 7 in No. 44.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Mukkoo, January 12, 1849.

I AM directed by the Governor-General to state, that Lieutenant Herbert's conduct, as shown in the above papers*, is praiseworthy, as it has been throughout all the transactions in which he has been concerned.

Inclosure 8 in No. 44.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Mukkoo, January 12, 1849.

EVERY effort that is practicable and safe, will be made to save Captain Abbott and Lieutenant Herbert.

Inclosure 9 in No. 44.

Lieutenant Herbert to the Resident at Lahore.

Attock, January 2, 1849.

A PORTION of the army of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan reached the right bank of the Indus, near the Bazour Ferry, on the evening of the 29th ultimo, and the Ameer himself, with the main body, yesterday morning.

Two regiments, with a number of camels and baggage, crossed the bridge of boats, constructed during the last few days, early yesterday; and I saw a long line of infantry; I imagine, three regiments; under arms, this morning, and watched them till they commenced the passage, when I was obliged to look after my own men, who were assembling tumultuously in considerable number, an unavoidable delay of one day having occurred in the disbursing of their pay.

I held a Durbar of all my officers yesterday, to ascertain their state of feeling, when, all disguise was removed; and I regret to state that I have no longer the smallest hope of either them, or their men, opposing the Ameer.

I have, too, no hope of succour; the latest accounts I have received from the army, leaving the war still at Heileh.

Under these circumstances, I have, after mature consideration and consultation with the three gentlemen mentioned in my last, determined on endeavouring to get away from the fort this night, in company with them, and a few others.

I shall be accompanied by Corporal Carthy, of the corps of sappers and miners, whom Captain Abbott some time ago sent to assist me here.

I, of course, shall do my utmost to reach Lahore, or the army, with as little delay as possible; but our first object must be to avoid giving a clue to the direction we take.

I need scarcely assure you that it is with the deepest regret that I take this step; but it is the only chance I see of escaping being delivered up to the Ameer, which, even now, I may be unable to accomplish.

* Letters from Lieutenant Herbert, December 26 and 27.

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honor of the occasion. The fort contains two good guns and a mortar, all three of which have been effectually used against us during the siege. The garrison have lost 10 men killed, and as many wounded; we have had 11 fighting men, 5 workmen, and 2 horses, killed and wounded.

I forward two letters* received to-day from Major George Lawrence, to whom I have written an account of the capture of the city of Mooltan. The reports of my having reached the neighbourhood of Potowar, have arisen from the operations of the party under Malek Khamadun and Futteh Khan Noon, which have had much the effect that I hoped they might.

Inclosure 12 in No. 44.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, January 10, 1849.

I FORWARD the letter said to have been sent by the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to Captain Abbott.

The style of the letter is peculiar, and is declared by my Meer Moonshee, who is well acquainted with his writing, to be that of Mirza Abdool Sumeeh the confidential Moonshee of the Ameer. Still, I can hardly think that the Ameer would thus commit himself in writing, and that to an assistant, at a distance from his official superior, and one whom the Ameer well knows has no authority from the Government to enter into negotiations with him.

I believe that Major Mackeson considers the letter a forgery, and the invention of the Barukzye Sirdars.

Inclosure 13 in No. 44.

Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to Captain Abbott.

I HAVE received, through Ismael Khan, your letter regarding what has taken place between the British Government and the Sikh Sirdars, and have paid attention to its contents. As to what you mention concerning your having visited me when I was a guest of the British in Calcutta, I do not remember the circumstance. Further, you express a hope that my army has been brought by me to Peshawur, for the purpose of assisting the British, and mention that Shere Sing and his troops have been encountered and beaten by the British troops, and that Moolraj has been besieged in his fort at Mooltan.

I have brought my troops to Peshawur, for the purpose of carrying out the same object that I have, constantly, had in view, and which, at the time that I quitted Hindostan, I endeavoured to obtain, through the good will of the British; viz., the release of the country of my fathers from the hands of the Sikhs, and for such favor I should have shown unbounded gratitude. It is notorious that, in combating for the possession of Peshawur, which is the burial place of my forefathers, thousands have perished, on the part of the Affghans and of the Sikhs, and it is, therefore, the more incumbent on the race of the former to use their utmost efforts to secure it. In this matter, no assistance has been received from the British. Moreover, when Major George Lawrence was at Peshawur, he caused me great grief, by using expressions in his letters to me, which showed but little sense of friendship; and, on all occasions, he upheld the cause of those who were hostile and inimical to me. He disregarded my requests that he should spare the houses and property of persons with whom I was connected, which had been ordered to be confiscated. I might write much more on the same head.

I conceived, however, that he might only have acted up to instructions which he had received, and, for this reason, was always guided by friendship in all my actions, and paid attention to the wishes of the British. Subsequently, when the disturbances at Mooltan, and the outbreaks in Hazara and Bunnoo took place, Major George Lawrence gave me no information of what had

* Not received.—F. CURRIE.

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My object in drawing those instructions will be to compel the Ameer to declare his intentions, and to avow himself, openly, either as friend or foe. I wish to deter him, if possible, from committing any overt act of hostility, which, while it would be a matter of inconvenience to us, in the first instance, must, of necessity, be gravely injurious to himself, in the end; and I shall seek to lead him to act a friendly and useful part in our favor against his enemies, the Sikhs, while I shall give him no reason to suppose that we stand in need of his aid; and I shall avoid compromising the Government by holding out to him promises of future favor, or advantage to himself. I propose, therefore, to request the Resident at Lahore to address a letter on my behalf to Dost Mahomed Khan, at Peshawur, to the following effect:

"The Governor-General has received from various sources a report that His Highness the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan has left his kingdom of Cabool, and has come to the city of Peshawur, accompanied by a body of his own troops.

"It is even asserted, by some, that the Ameer has proclaimed his own sovereignty at Peshawur, and has called upon the various chiefs to acknowledge, and submit to, his authority. The Province of Peshawur is a portion of the territories of Maharajah Duleep Sing, and by the provisions of treaty, is subject, during the minority of His Highness, to the control and direction of the British Government.

"The Ameer, therefore, who is a Prince of sagacity and experience, well knows that even his presence with an armed force in Peshawur would in itself be an act of hostility towards the British Government, while a proclamation of His Highness's authority there would be nothing less than a distinct and deliberate declaration of war.

"For these reasons, the Governor-General has lent no ear to the reports that he has received, and is unwilling to give any credence to them.

"The Governor-General does not doubt, that the rumour of the Ameer having proclaimed his rule in Peshawur, has been spread by wicked and designing men, enemies of the Ameer, who desire to sow enmity between His Highness and this Government, in order to bring upon His Highness's authority and power those heavy misfortunes which would be involved in that punishment which the British Government would, undoubtedly, inflict on any Prince who had been guilty of such conduct as that which his calumniators are seeking to attribute to His Highness the Ameer.

"The Governor-General is even unwilling to believe, in the absence of any announcement from the Ameer himself, that His Highness has actually come to Peshawur. If the fact be so, a letter is, doubtless, even now upon the way, declaring to the Governor-General the friendly motives and purposes which have prompted the movement which His Highness has made.

"His Highness is aware that the British Government is now engaged in a war with the army and the people of the Sikhs, the bitter enemies of His Highness. He is aware that they are doing their utmost to injure the British power, and that they hold in captivity certain officers, their wives, and children, who have been basely delivered up to them by His Highness's brother, the Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, in violation of the rights of hospitality, in disregard of the dictates of gratitude, and in defiance of the holiest precepts of the religion he professes.

"The Governor-General is confident that it is to show his disapprobation of such conduct as this, that the Ameer has come; that he has come to proffer to the Governor-General his assistance in punishing the treachery and violence of the Sikhs, his most inveterate foes; that he has come to declare his abhorrence of the faithlessness of Sooltan Mahomed Khan in thus delivering his guests to their enemies, and so bringing dishonor on the family from which he has sprung.

"The Governor-General conceives that these are the causes of His Highness's arrival; but it is not well that there should be doubt between friends. The Governor-General has, therefore, now addressed His Highness, in order to assure him that the British Government desires, now and always, to cultivate friendly relations with the Ameer of Cabool, and that, in now engaging in hostilities against the Sikhs, it has no hostile design whatever against His Highness, against his authorities, or the territories it left in His Highness's possession.

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Three companies of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, and six companies Native Infantry from the 2nd Brigade, to parade at the advance picket of that brigade, a quarter of an hour before noon, to accompany heavy ordnance to the front. The name of the senior Infantry officer proceeding with this party to be sent to the Assistant Adjutant-General, as soon as practicable.

The portion of the force not ordered on other duties, will be ready to stand to their arms, from noon till dismissed. The regiment in rear of camp (leaving guards for the protection of their lines) will pile arms, in front of the artillery park, at the same hour.

The officer commanding the Bombay division is requested to have prepared two columns, of a wing of European and a regiment of Native Infantry each, accompanied by a squadron of cavalry and light field battery, (or four guns, as he may consider expedient) to each, at 11 A.M. The batteries to open on the enemy's positions at Mundee Awa and Seedee-loll-ke-bed, precisely at noon, and to be followed up by the infantry and artillery, according to the effect produced on the enemy, to the taking of those two positions, if facilities offer, for which purpose a company of Sappers should be attached to each column, with intrenching tools, to secure the posts, if taken.

Brigadier Cheape has been requested to attach an engineer officer, acquainted with the ground, to Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., for the day's operations.

The column, acting on the left of the Bombay division, should be warned, that Major Edwardes' force cooperates with this attack, on the west of the canal (or large nullah), to whose troops a few of the Bengal cavalry, Regular and Irregular, will be attached, to facilitate their being recognised as allies.

Inclosure 17 in No. 44.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, December 28, 1848.

IN furtherance of the letter I had the gratification of forwarding to you yesterday, by express, I beg to report, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the force employed performed the duty assigned to it, in the best spirit and style.

The portion on the extreme left was under the immediate command of Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., who appointed Brigadier Capon to the charge of the second column of the Bombay division; next to which, was a detail under Lieutenant-Colonel Nash, C.B., 72d Native Infantry; and, on the extreme right, (to reach its destination three-quarters of an hour later) was a detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Her Majesty's 10th Foot.

The latter was, under any circumstances, to make a real attack upon the enemy's position, as stated in my letter of yesterday; and, in the margin *, I

* Left Column.—Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., commanding. 5 Companies 1st Bombay Fusiliers (Major Mignan); 4th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry Rifles (Major Honner); No. 7 Light Field Battery (Captain Turnbull); Squadron Sinde Horse (Lieutenant Merewether); 1 Company Sappers (Lieutenant Kendall); Lieutenants Maxwell and Pollard, Bengal Engineers, conducting the column.

Left Centre Column.—Brigadier Capon commanding. 5 Companies of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles (Major Dennis); 3rd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry (Major Hallett); No. 5 Light Field Battery (Captain Bailey); Squadron 1st Bombay Lancers (Captain Curtis); 1 Company Sappers (Lieutenant Walker); Captain Abercrombie, Bengal Engineers, conducting the column.

Right Centre Column.—Lieutenant-Colonel Nash, C.B., 72nd Native Infantry, commanding. 3 Companies of Her Majesty's 32nd (Major Case, commanding); 6 Companies 72nd Native Infantry (Captain Lloyd commanding); 4 guns 4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery (Captain Anderson commanding); 3rd Company Pioneers (Lieutenant Gordon commanding).

Right Column.—Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Her Majesty's 10th Foot, commanding. 5 Companies of Her Majesty's 10th Foot (Captain Longden commanding); 52nd Regiment Native Infantry (Captain Jamieson commanding); 4 guns 4th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery (Captain Mackenzie commanding); 1 Squadron 11th Irregular Cavalry (Captain Dowson commanding); 2nd Company Sappers (Lieutenant Grindall commanding); Major Napier and Captain Western conducting Engineers.

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the right column, I beg to refer to the report of Brigadier Capon, herewith inclosed, the operations of the left column, which was under my orders, having been so far separated as to preclude me from observing the movements on the right.

Brigadier Capon reports most favorably of the gallantry and good conduct of all under his command, and of the assistance he received from the staff officers attached to him, Captain Tapp, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Stiles, Major of Brigade, Lieutenant Pollexfen, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Lieutenant Gordon, 60th Royal Rifles, who acted in the capacity of Aide-de-Camp.

The left column moved from camp, left in front, being guided by Lieutenant Pollard, of the Bengal Engineers.

The ground it had to pass over was very much broken, and intersected with deep nullahs. From the advance of the 4th Regiment Native Infantry, Rifles, having crossed the first nullah too much to the left of where a practicable road had been cut, some time was lost in getting across, and, the enemy's advanced pickets being distinctly seen, I ordered the advanced guard to extend, and, as soon as the 4th Rifles had got disentangled from the nullahs, I ordered the skirmishers to advance, and drive in the enemy, which was speedily effected. The column moved on to the left, till the head had passed the left of the old intrenchments, when I halted the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, under the command of Major Mignan, forming in the parallel, and the 4th Native Infantry (Rifles) lying down under a bank, in front of a white building or mosque. The battery, under the command of Captain Turnbull, and personal superintendence of Major Leeson, was placed in position, opposite a mound, which I understand was the "Seedee-lol-ke-bed," on which it opened, the enemy immediately retiring. A few rounds were, then, fired at the mosque, which was occupied by the enemy, and I directed Major Honner, commanding the 4th Native Infantry (Rifles), to advance against it, throwing forward his left, and thus take it in reverse. Nothing could exceed the steadiness and good conduct of the 4th Native Infantry (Rifles), who, moving in extended order, rapidly drove the enemy from the mosque, and also from another large one, with adjoining buildings, where the enemy had two guns, but which, in retiring, they succeeded in carrying off with them. A general advance, then, took place, the 1st Bombay Fusiliers passing the mound to the right, and the 4th Native Infantry to the left. The guns were moved, as speedily as the nature of the ground would admit, to the top of the mound, from which I had been led to believe a view of the city could be had; but, on arriving there, I found another mound in front, and a third again beyond that. The troops kept gradually advancing over very difficult and strong ground, driving the enemy from every point at which he attempted to make a stand, the 1st Fusiliers pursuing them, through a deserted village, into the suburbs, and the 4th Rifles following them, and driving them out of a large inclosure called the Beegee Bagh, and quite into the suburbs. The guns were, by very great exertion, and the active assistance of the Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Kendall, placed in position in the Seedee-lol-ke-bed, from which, however, the city wall was scarcely perceptible, and the distance too great, for the fire of the artillery to produce any great effect. While the guns were being brought up to the hill, a retrograde movement was made by the troops, which had been occasioned by the 4th Rifles having imprudently advanced too far, and having expended their ammunition.

It was, at this time, that the greatest number of casualties occurred in that regiment, but the Fusiliers, falling back gradually, and keeping up a steady fire, checked the advance of the enemy, and covered the retreat of the 4th Rifles.

Both regiments having formed under the hill, the ammunition was replenished, when I directed the Fusiliers to move to the right, and drive the enemy from the deserted village, which was speedily done, the regiment forming under cover of the buildings, the front being covered by their skirmishers. The 4th Rifles re-occupied the Beegee Bagh; and, the object of the attack having been attained, in serving to distract the enemy, I did not consider any good could arise from a further advance. The troops maintained this position until dark, a constant cannonade being kept up from the battery.

Captain Woosnam joined, in the afternoon, with the heavy guns; and two 18-pounders were placed in position on the right of the field battery. All the ammunition of the field battery having been expended, and there being no more of that calibre (9-pounder) in the park, I ordered the battery to return to camp, their place being supplied by the troop of Horse Artillery, under Major Blood. A rein-

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above order, I caused two companies of the 60th Rifles to extend, and cover the front, and so advanced about a quarter of a mile, when the enemy's round shot beginning to pass through the extended ranks, I directed that a large building, then about 600 yards in front, should be taken possession of by the advanced skirmishers, which was done, under a discharge of round shot and shrapnell from the town, fortunately with no other loss than one private of the 60th Rifles killed, and one wounded; at the same time, the 3rd Regiment Native Infantry was ordered to open out, to wheeling distance. The excellent fire of the Riflemen, in, and about, the building, soon subdued that of the enemy's skirmishers, and I, then, ordered the battery to take ground to itself, and open its fire on the mound "Mundee Awa," and the intermediate space about 700 yards, thus carrying into effect the orders I had received to make a *feint*. Having fired about twenty minutes, the enemy's fire was continued only from some old intrenchments. I, then, decided on a general advance, under cover of skirmishers, both from the 60th Royal Rifles, and 3rd Regiment Native Infantry, the battery following in the rear, and the Cavalry disposing of itself, as it best might, under the unfavorable nature of the ground. A general rush forward to the mound, with a cheer, now took place, the two Infantry Regiments being nearly in the same line. The enemy fled towards the suburbs, over, and to the left of, the mound, which, on being taken, was found evacuated. The greater part of the 60th Rifles followed the enemy over the mound into the suburbs, I remaining on it, with my staff and a small party of that Regiment. At this time, the 3rd Regiment was actively engaged to the left of the mound, pursuing the enemy, which had taken shelter in a mosque, and under hedges and walls. Here they charged the enemy, and drove them into the city. I then sent orders for its recall, lest the main object, the possession of "Mundee Awa," should be hazarded.

I, also, recalled from the suburbs the 60th Royal Rifles, and directed the light field battery to be brought into position on the mound, which was done, as soon as a road could be cut by the Sappers and Miners. I, also, detached Lieutenant Forbes, of the 1st Cavalry (Lancers), to camp, for reinforcements. In the meantime, observing the approach of part of the Bengal column, on my right, I agreed to the suggestion of Captain Abercrombie, that the suburbs should be held in front, and on both flanks of the mound, as far as possible.

A re-occupation of the suburbs was made, without much resistance, by the 60th Royal Rifles, and part of the 3rd Regiment of Native Infantry, in conjunction with a portion of the Bengal column, consisting of three companies of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, under the command of Major Inglis, and part of the 51st Bengal Native Infantry, under the command of Major Finnis. About this time, a shrapnell shell from the town burst over one of the 9-pounder guns, which had commenced to answer the fire from the town, killing Lieutenant Younghusband, 9th Regiment Native Infantry, my acting Aide-de-Camp, and two Artillerymen, and wounding severely Lieutenant Hill, field engineer to the Bombay column, who had accompanied the attack. The 9-pounder guns soon succeeded in silencing the enemy's howitzer or mortar, and only round shot were subsequently fired at the mound, with little effect, save in one instance, when Captain Bailey, commanding the Artillery, had his arm carried off, and an Artilleryman, since dead, was severely wounded. I regret to add that, previous to this, Major Gordon, of the 60th Royal Rifles, when in command of a party clearing the suburbs, in front of the mound, fell mortally wounded by a matchlock ball fired from one of the houses, when crossing an open space; no other casualty of the sort occurring, owing to the steadiness and skill of the men in taking advantage of every cover during the advance. Having examined the position taken up, I found, on my return, that a reinforcement, consisting of a wing of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry, had arrived from camp. A chain of posts was, then, established in the suburbs, and a sharp fire was kept up by the enemy during the night, happily without doing any injury. The following officers were directed by Brigadier the Hon. H. Dundas, G.B., to accompany me as my staff, in addition to my personal staff:—Captain Stiles, Major of Brigade, and Lieutenant Gordon, 60th Royal Rifles, permitted to act as my aide-de-camp whenever required with the brigade:—Captain Tapp, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Pollexfen, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Lieutenant Younghusband, 9th Regiment Native Infantry, who volunteered his services as Aide-de-Camp on the occasion. The whole of the above were most zealous and efficient in effecting the arrangements required.

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Inclosure 20 in No. 44.

*Major Edwardes to Major-General Whish.**Camp, Beegee Bagh-i-Nigh, December 29, 1848.*

AGREEABLY to the instructions of yesterday, the forces of Lieutenant Lake and myself relieved the Bombay division, of the charge of the Seedee-loll-ke-Bed, and all the posts on the left of it (including Beegee-bagh, the village of Daira, Jog, Marjah, &c.) at 3 P.M. yesterday evening.

We remained undisturbed during the night, but were attacked about 1 P.M., to-day, by 2000 of the enemy, almost all foot, and chiefly regulars, among whom the Kuthar Mookhee deserters were conspicuous.

They issued from the Delhi Gate, filed behind the suburbs in front of the Seedee-loll-ke-Bed, and made their appearance suddenly on our left front, pushing boldly on into the gardens which were unoccupied, and opening a heavy musketry fire from behind the walls, a position, however, from which they were rapidly dislodged by our Rohillas and other irregulars, aided by two companies of General Cortlandt's regiments, who expelled them, and followed them up to the city walls.

Lieutenant Lake, at the head of his own men, Lieutenant Pollock with mine, Lieutenant Pearse, of the Madras Artillery, foremost with the Daood-potras, and Lieutenant Young of the engineers, wherever the presence of a European officer could be useful, were all, actively and most gallantly, engaged in this little affair, as was also Mr. Quin with the Soorooj Mookhee company, and a new volunteer, Mr. MacMahon, who earned his title to be brought especially to your notice, by encountering, in single combat, the leader of the enemy's infantry, a powerful Sikh, whom he killed with one blow which divided his head.

Inclosure 21 in No. 44.

*Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.**Camp, Mooltan, December 30, 1848.*

I WAS in hopes yesterday of being able to forward a complete casualty list in reference to our attacks of the 27th instant, and trust nothing will prevent my doing so to-morrow.

I have the gratification, now, of reporting to you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that, by a shell from one of the mortars of the battery mentioned in my letter of the 28th instant (laid on the occasion by Lieutenant Newall, Bengal Artillery), the enemy's principal magazine in the citadel was blown up at 9 A.M., and the grand Musjid so appropriated completely destroyed, with many houses and other buildings in its vicinity. The sight was awfully grand, and precisely similar to that at the siege of Hatrass on the 1st of March, 1817: I hope the consequence may be the same, in which case the enemy would abandon the fort to-night; otherwise I contemplate assaulting the city to-morrow.

Our batteries are as follows:—

Six 8-inch mortars	-	-	-	-	opened on the 28th.
Three 10-inch ditto	-	-	-	-	ditto.
Four 5½-inch ditto	-	-	-	-	ditto.
Six 18-pounders, on the Khoonee Boorj	-	-	-	-	29th
Two 8-inch howitzers,	}	with the mortars in the first line, 29th.			
Two 10-inch ditto,					
Two 24-pounders,					

And five 8-inch mortars, are now being laid down near the three 10-inch mortars.

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Inclosure 24 in No. 44.

Field-Force Orders issued by Major-General Whish.

Camp, Mooltan, January 2, 1849.

It being the Major-General's intention to assault the city to-day, it will be effected by two columns, constituted as follows:

From the Bengal Division—

Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment; 49th Regiment, Native Infantry; 72nd Regiment, Native Infantry; right column, under the command of Brigadier Markham.

From the Bombay Division—

1st Bombay Fusiliers; 4th Bombay Native Infantry (Rifles); 19th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry; left column, under the command of Brigadier Stalker, C.B.

Each column to be conducted by an officer of Engineers, and to be accompanied by a serjeant and 12 artillerymen, furnished with gun spikes, and to have a complete company of sappers and pioneers in attendance.

The columns will leave their respective lines at noon precisely, and halt in the vicinity of the "Mundee Awa."

The troops now on duty there, and in the suburbs between it (the Amkhas inclusive), augmented, on either flank, by two guns of horse artillery and a squadron of cavalry, (the Bombay division providing for the left, and the Bengal division for the right), will form the reserve, under the command of Brigadier Hervey.

Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas is requested to send the Sind Horse to Bukurabad, at noon, with two guns of horse artillery; and Brigadier Salter will detach a regiment of Irregular Cavalry, towards the north-west angle of the fort, Major Garbett placing two horse artillery guns at his disposal to accompany the same. One ressalah to be told off to the guns, with orders not to quit them on any account.

Officers commanding columns will be furnished with particular instructions for their guidance, and outline plans of the city.

Officers commanding companies to be impressed with the necessity of preventing their men separating, in search of plunder, or on any other pretext.

The camps will be under charge of Brigadiers Capon and Salter respectively, who will order the troops in them to stand to their arms from 1 p.m.

Inclosure 25 in No. 44.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, January 7, 1849.

HAVING now received the report of the Bombay column, during the assault of the city, on the 2nd instant, I have the honor of forwarding that received from Brigadier Markham on the 3rd instant, and associating with it the letter of this date received from Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., commanding the Bombay division of the Field Force, both of which I shall be obliged by your submitting to the Commander-in-Chief.

The steady advance of both columns, under their respective commanders, Brigadier Stalker, C.B., and Brigadier Markham (which, as regarded that under the latter, was but temporarily checked from the necessity of entering the city by the left breach) insured the early realization of what each had been directed to aim at, and by sunset the city was in complete possession of our gallant troops, whose conduct throughout was remarkable for humanity to the unarmed inhabitants they occasionally met, and not less so for the severity with which the opposition of the enemy was overcome from street to street, many of which were narrow and intricate, and several barricaded.

In the letters accompanying, the gallantry and good services of various officers are particularized; and, on the fall of the citadel, it will be my pleasing duty to take up that strain regarding many. It will, however, be better timed, now, to mention the spirited proposition, on the 1st instant, of Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, C.B., to escalate the citadel, during the assault of the city, provided I placed 500 of each regiment of the 1st brigade, under his command. After due consideration

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and streets on our right to the Delhi gate, and from thence to that part of the city close to the Dowlut gate, and directly in front of the fort.

The enemy offered considerable opposition in the narrow streets, and on the ramparts, which were strongly barricaded; but the troops carried all before them, and, before dark, that part of the city was in our possession, and we connected our posts with those thrown out from the left column.

To Colonel Brooke, Major Lloyd, and Captain Lloyd, in command of regiments, and to all under my command, both officers and men, I have to return my thanks, for their steadiness and prompt obedience throughout to my orders.

To Major Napier, of the engineers, who accompanied me, I am deeply indebted, for the very valuable services he rendered me, throughout the afternoon.

Return of Casualties, &c., in 2nd Infantry Brigade (Bengal division), on the 2nd of January, 1849.

Camp, Mooltan; January 3, 1849.

Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment—3 rank and file, killed; 2 European officers, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer; 16 rank and file, wounded.

49th Native Infantry—1 rank and file, wounded.

72nd Native Infantry—1 rank and file, killed; 5 rank and file, wounded.

Captains J. D. Smyth and C. T. King, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, wounded.

Total—4 killed; 26 wounded.

Inclosure 27 in No. 44.

Brigadier the Hon. H. Dundas to Brevet Captain G. P. Whish, Assistant Adjutant-General, Bengal Column.

Camp, Mooltan, January 7, 1849.

I FORWARD the report of Brigadier Stalker, C.B., commanding the 2nd brigade Bombay division, which was engaged in storming the city of Mooltan on the afternoon of the 2nd instant.

The brigade, formed in three columns, as directed in the instructions from the Assistant Adjutant-General, assembled in rear of the Mundee Awa, and, about 3 p.m., moved down to storm the left trench at the angle of the Khoonee Boorj.

The storming party, headed by Captain Leith, of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, speedily mounted the breach, but, on arriving at the summit, found some difficulty in descending, the enemy having re-trenched the breach, and dug deep ditches, into which several of the leading men and officers fell. The obstacles to the advance of the party having been overcome, the column, having succeeded in passing the trench, pushed on to the ramparts, and streets of the town, through a very narrow passage, by the aid of some scaling ladders, placed against a house by a party of Bengal sappers, under Lieutenant Oliphant. I regret to state that, soon after mounting the breach, Captain Leith was severely wounded; and Lieutenant Gray, taking command of the party, moved to the right towards the Delhi Gate, to clear away obstacles between the breach and that point at which it was intended the Bengal column should enter.

Major Mignan, with the 1st column, moved to the left, clearing the ramparts, while the columns under Major Mant and Major Honner, pushing for the centre of the town, established themselves in the grain market.

The narrowness of the streets rendering the preservation of regular formation impossible, the enemy was followed up by the troops, in the best mode in which they could move, and without giving him time to halt, until the town was completely carried, and the several columns established; the left having succeeded in reaching the Lahore gate.

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had to advance by the ramparts to the south pushed its way along for some distance, but fortunately followed the retreating enemy along one of the streets, which eventually led them to the end of the town, near the Lahore gate. A company being left at this point, the column returned along the streets nearest the ramparts to the Bohur Gate, where it remained during the night, as it was known that the Pak Gate was in possession of the Bengal 72nd, and a company of the 4th Rifles was sent back to the Hurun gate. During the night, one of the enemy's powder magazines, close to the gateway, blew up, burying several of our men in the ruins. It was impossible to guard against such an accident; indeed, it is only surprising it was the only one on the south side; for the enemy's ammunition was lying about in great quantities, and there was nothing to distinguish their magazines from the other houses. In the morning, Lieutenants Pollard and Maxwell, with the Bengal Sappers, removed a considerable quantity of powder from another magazine, close to a burning house, and threw it over the wall, where it exploded without doing any mischief.

The proceedings of the other column were similar: they all pushed quite through the town, left parties in advance posts, and retired to more open ground in the centre of the town.

When the left column, which was intended to go by the ramparts, and leave guards at the gates, had struck into the town, an application was made to Colonel Dundas, who sent two companies of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles to hold the gates.

The other columns had, however, exceeded their instructions; for a company of the 72nd Bengal Native Infantry had crossed the town, and obtained possession of the Pak, and the road to the Hurun gates, before the 60th Rifles arrived.

The Pak gate was cleared during the night by the Bengal Sappers, the Hurun gate by the Bombay Sappers, and the Bohur gate was nearly opened, when the explosion took place, which rendered it impossible to go on. It was opened, next morning, by the Bengal Sappers.

It is quite impossible to say where the engineer officers were: the troops were so scattered by the narrow lanes, that there were no distinct columns. The only real guide was to follow the retreating enemy, which was done. Not only are the ramparts so incomplete as to render a passage round them by a column of men quite impracticable, but the parts which are complete were, at the time of the assault, crossed by traverses, and cut up by small trenches.

The night closed, before the communication between the different bodies could be effected, but, by morning, the troops were in communication with each other.

It is to be regretted that we had not a couple of hours daylight, as we should then have, probably, avoided the explosion of the magazine; but the town was as completely cleared of the enemy by dark, as it is at the present moment.

The steady and well-directed fire of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles kept down that of the enemy very considerably, while the troops were approaching the breach, and a discharge of grape thrown on the top of the breach by Lieutenant Keir, Bombay Artillery, just over the heads of the Fusiliers, as they advanced, was of the utmost advantage to us; but when the top was gained, and our men became mingled with the enemy, the fate of the day depended on the steadiness and courage of the Fusiliers, and both men and officers answered nobly to the call.

Where all behaved so well, and the operations were on such an extended scale, it would be impossible for me to particularize each act of gallantry. I would therefore beg to refer the Brigadier commanding the division to the report of officers commanding regiments and posts, and merely mention such as came under my notice.

The gallantry of the following officers was conspicuous:—Captain Tapp, Deputy Assistant-Adjutant-General, attached to my staff, who was wounded in capturing a gun on our first entering the town, whereby I was early deprived of his valuable assistance:

Captain Leith, 1st Fusiliers, commanding the storming party, who was very severely wounded; and Lieutenants Daly and Mules, 1st Fusiliers:

I would also bring to special notice the conduct of Colour Serjeant John Bennet, 1st Fusiliers, who volunteered to accompany the storming party, and, rushing up the breach, planted the union jack on its crest, standing beside it, until the whole brigade had passed. The colour and staff are riddled with balls.

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Inclosure 29 in No. 44.

Major Edwardes to Major-General Whish.

Camp, Beeghee Bagh, January 3, 1849.

IN conformity with your instructions to create a diversion, yesterday, on the south and west of the city, preparatory to the storm of the trenches by the regular force, Lieutenant Lake threw out a large skirmishing party, directly in his front, and close up to the Pak Gate; General Cortlandt, another on the left of the Daoodpotras; and I, a third on the left of General Cortlandt's; thus opening a smart fire nearly down to the Bohur Gate, and securing the attention of a large portion of the enemy's soldiers on the walls. In front of the village of Daira, I also moved out a large body of cavalry, and a troop of horse artillery, while the remainder and main body of the infantry were in reserve at the Beeghee Bagh and Seedee-loh-ke-bed.

At about half-past 1 p.m., the Daoodpotras, under the direction of Lieutenant Lake, and my own and General Cortlandt's, under the direction of Lieutenant Young, of the engineers, Mr. Hugo James, and Mr. Quin, opened their fire, from the most advanced suburbs, and drew a smart return from the ramparts, and the guns on the Motee Bastion. This was kept up, until the advance of the British to the breach, and was, I trust, of service in distracting the enemy's attention.

When the city was completely in your possession, Lieutenant Lake and I withdrew our men to their respective posts; but, subsequently, on being applied to by Major Scott, of the Bombay engineers, Lieutenant Lake occupied the Pak Gate with Daoodpotras, and a small party from the company of the 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, which was on duty at Seedee Loh. The vigilance of this detachment of Daoodpotras, while in charge of the gate, I was myself a witness to, at night, when I visited the post with Lieutenant Lake, and it did great credit to irregular troops.

After withdrawing our skirmishers, I ordered the cavalry from Daira to make a patrol to the westward, and they succeeded in intercepting a party of the enemy's infantry, who had escaped from the city, twenty of whom they killed, when the rest surrendered, and were disarmed.

I cannot conclude this report without bringing to your notice the zeal of Lieutenant Pollock, Assistant Resident, and Mr. McMahon, volunteer. The former joined his corps, hearing it was in the storming party, at the Delhi Gate breach; and the latter volunteered to accompany Captain Smyth, who led the right assault.

Inclosure 30 in No. 44.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, January 3, 1849.

IN consequence of our proceedings of yesterday, the number of the enemy, now confined to the citadel, is estimated, from the best accounts procurable, to be only from 2000 to 2500. Major Edwardes communicated to me a proposition, made this morning, for 400 or 500 of them to desert Moolraj, if their lives were spared. Their agent (Ismael Khan) urged their being permitted to retain their arms, which I told him was inadmissible. It is settled that they are to deliver them at the Dowlut Gate, at 4 p.m., to the detachment of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, on duty there, on which Lieutenant Need, my Aide-de-camp, will escort the party to the rear of the camp, and dismiss them to their homes.

These are Eusufzyes; but I declined acceding to a similar desire on the part of some Gundehpoories, as they were not simply enemies, but Ryots of the Maharaja, rebels.

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Inclosure 41 in No. 44.

*Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.**Camp, Mooltan, January 9, 1849.*

A CONFIDENTIAL agent of the rebel Dewan, named Dya Buksh, waited upon me this morning, agreeably to yesterday's arrangement. Major Edwardes was with me at the time, but, as we soon learnt from him that he was not authorized to tender his master's unconditional surrender, after a short stay, I gave him permission to return. He affected to be ignorant of the purport of my reply to Moolraj's letter of the 6th instant.

On the 4th instant, General Cortlandt, of the Sikh service, called to represent that he was to have the charge of this district after the fall of Mooltan, and solicited leave to take civil possession of the city, which I granted.

Inclosure 42 in No. 44.

*Major Edwardes to the Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Mooltan, January 9, 1849.*

YESTERDAY, Dewan Moolraj, again, addressed letters to General Whish and myself, accepting gratefully the General's permission to send a motbir; and asking for arrangements to be made to let the said motbir be received at the Delhi Gate, or any other the General might prefer, and honorably treated. In reply, the General appointed 9 o'clock this morning for the motbir to come to the Delhi Gate. He came about 11; but there was considerable commotion in the fort, and it is supposed some party opposed the mission. Major Becher, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, received the motbir (Dya Buksh Khan, a confidential adviser of the Dewan), and conducted him to the General's tent, where I was in attendance on the Major-General.

Dya Buksh presented his nuzzur, and then commenced an oration, which I immediately stopped, and requested him to confine himself to a simple statement of the Dewan's wish to surrender, and at what time he would come in. He replied, "Dewan Sahib hazier hy!"—equivalent to "the Dewan submits!" Adding—"But only hear the representations he has told me to make!" and showing clearly that he had come charged with a budget of questions, and doubts to be resolved; in short, that he wished to stipulate, not to surrender unconditionally. I again stopped him, therefore, and asked him plainly, from the General, whether he had authority to tender his master's submission, and arrange for his coming in? Dya Buksh was not prepared for this literal interpretation of the conditions on which he had come, and acknowledged that he had not authority to go, at once, into such final arrangements, but said he would, if allowed, go back, and relate to the Dewan that nothing else would be listened to. The General then gave him his leave, and he retired, evidently much disappointed at his reception.

A new battery of seven 18-pounders had just been opened in our trenches, and played heavily on the fort during this interview, so that conviction must have reached the Dewan that his diplomacy was not likely to gain either time, or terms.

I still think the Dewan will submit, and avoid the last crisis of the siege.

Inclosure 43 in No. 44.

*The Adjutant-General to the Secretary with the Governor-General.**Camp, Chillianwalla, January 23, 1849.*

I HAVE the honor, by direction of his Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India, a copy of a dispatch, of the 7th instant, from Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B., commanding the Mooltan Field Force, and of the detailed reports which accompanied it, of the assault upon

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be justified in crossing the border to attack a party thus under His Highness's protection, as they have, as yet, committed no overt act of hostility.

It will appear from what I have stated, that Maharajah Golab Sing's border districts are a privileged highroad for the open enemies of the British Government. I am prepared also to prove that they are places of refuge for all rebels against the Lahore Government.

It will be sufficient to mention a few instances, which have come to my knowledge with great certainty. The families of Dewan Ilakim Race and his son are now partly in a small village on the bank of the Torch near Jummoo, and partly near Munawur, under the actual protection, as it is asserted, of Dewan Hurrie Chund.

The family and property of Meean Jowahir Sing, of Buddee Pind, are at Pubbial Bahminon, and those of the Kottee Babas at Bishna, while Gunda Sing's household are in safety near Samba.

The whole of the above have been traced, and seen, by my own emissaries. I might extend the list indefinitely, by hearsay.

As I am aware of the importance of the charges brought, in this statement, against the Maharajah Golab Sing's fidelity, I have carefully abstained from mentioning anything which has not come under my personal observation, within the last few days; but I conceive that I should have been wanting in my duty had I failed to bring them promptly to your notice.

Inclosure 45 in No. 44.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, January 4, 1849.

I SUBMIT a communication from my Assistant, Lieutenant Hodson, regarding a party sent from the rebel camp on the Jhelum, towards Puthankote, for the purpose of creating disturbances in the Hill districts of the Jullundur Doab, and respecting the uninterrupted passage through the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing, enjoyed by the insurgent bands, and the safe protection afforded to their families and property in the Jummoo districts.

I have had a long conference this morning with Dewan Jowala Sahae upon the subject of Lieutenant Hodson's letter, and have given him the substance of the letter to send to the Maharajah. Jowala Sahae says, fairly enough, that he cannot, of course, contradict what Lieutenant Hodson so positively states; but he pledges himself that, if the fact is established by proof, and the route of the forces can be traced, all parties who have connived at their passage, be they officers of the Maharajah, or Jagheerdars, or Zemindars, shall be punished.

The Dewan has sent off people of his own to raise the country, and prevent the return of the parties mentioned by Lieutenant Hodson, and to attack, and seize them.

He has also given me purwannas, very strongly worded, to the Kardars of Jesrota and Samba, and also a general purwanna, addressed to all the Kardars and Thannadars of the Jummoo territory, directing them to place themselves under the orders of Lieutenants Lumsden and Hodson, and to seize, and make over, any person whom they may demand, and obey all orders they may receive from them, whether they be in the Jummoo territory, or in the Lahore or British districts.

Dewan Jowala Sahae seems to be in earnest in desiring to keep his master straight with the British Government. I am by no means satisfied that he is altogether in his master's confidence.

I have directed Lieutenant Hodson to ascertain the exact route which these insurgent bands pursued, and the villages in the Jummoo territory through which they may have passed.

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Inclosure 47 in No. 44.

*The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Mukkoo, January 12, 1849.*

THE Governor-General trusts that the explanations and conduct of the Maharajah Golab Sing's vakeel, in this matter*, may be satisfactory.

His Lordship entertains no doubt whatever that the Maharajah's territory is not, and ought not to be, any protection to enemies of the British Government. The Maharajah is bound, by his treaty, to send all his troops to aid us against our enemies, much more than is he bound not to harbour enemies within his own dominions.

British officers should follow any body of men who are in arms against the British Government, into the Maharajah's territory, and punish them there, without hesitation.

Inclosure 48 in No. 44.

*The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Mukkoo, January 12, 1849.*

YOU will convey to† Lieutenant Lumsden the approval of the Governor-General, of the gallantry and activity of himself and men in his attack against the insurgents, and his Lordship's sense of the services he has been rendering.

Inclosure 49 in No. 44.

*The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.**Camp, Mukkoo, January 19, 1849.*

WITH reference to your letters, wherein you mention being in consultation with Major Mackeson as to what communication should be made to Maharajah Golab Sing, in the alarm which he feels regarding the possible loss of Cashmere, and other portions of his territory, I am instructed by the Governor-General to request that you will intimate to the Maharajah, that the British Government will not permit Dost Mahomed Khan to take possession of any territory belonging to His Highness, provided His Highness gives decisive proofs that he may be depended upon as a friend to the British Government, and a peaceful neighbour. The Maharajah has, hitherto, given no real proof of his trustworthiness and amity; for his Lordship cannot regard as such a proof, his sending a few thousand rupees to Captain Abbott, when His Highness owes several lakhs to the British Government.

If the Maharajah shall, really, do effective service against the Sikh army, now in arms against the British Government, or against the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, in the event of that person attempting to aid the Sikh army, the Governor-General requests that you will assure the Maharajah, that the Ameer will not be permitted to injure him. If, on the other hand, the Maharajah does not render such service, it is impossible that the British Government can place any reliance on his friendship, and they will proceed to take such measures against the Sikh power, against Dost Mahomed Khan, and the Maharajah himself, as their own interests and security may seem to require.

The British Government sincerely desires to see the Maharajah Golab Sing retained in possession of all his territories, and in friendship with it; and the Governor-General counsels him, now, to take a just view of his own true interest, and to act in accordance with that view.

* Letter from the Resident, January 4.

† Letter from Lieutenant Hodson, January 4.

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which I had previously occupied for some time, and the neighbourhood of which I knew, and upon the ravine hills near Russool, without detaching a force to a distance: this I considered both inexpedient and dangerous.

The engineer department had been ordered to examine the country before us; and the Quartermaster-General was in the act of taking up ground for the encampment, when the enemy advanced some horse artillery, and opened a fire on the skirmishers in front of the village. I immediately ordered them to be silenced by a few rounds from our heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. Their fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed.

It was now evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would, probably, advance his guns so as to reach this encampment during the night.

I, therefore, drew up in order of battle, Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which I strengthened by the 14th Light Dragoons, well aware that the enemy was strong in Cavalry upon his left. To this were attached three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre.

Brigadier-General Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of Cavalry, and three troops of Horse Artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind.

The field batteries were with the infantry divisions. Thus formed, the troops were ordered to lie down, whilst the heavy guns, under Major Horsford, ably seconded by Brevet-Majors Ludlow and Sir Richmond Shakespear, opened a well-directed and powerful fire upon the enemy's centre, where his guns appeared principally to be placed; and this fire was ably supported on the flanks, by the field batteries of the infantry divisions.

After about an hour's fire, that of the enemy appeared to be, if not silenced, sufficiently disabled to justify an advance upon his position and guns.

I, then, ordered my left division to advance, which had to move over a greater extent of ground, and, in front of which, the enemy seemed not to have many guns. Soon after, I directed Sir Walter Gilbert to advance, and sent orders to Brigadier Pope, to protect the flank and support the movement. Brigadier Penny's brigade was held in reserve, while the Irregular Cavalry, under Brigadier Harsey, with the 20th Native Infantry, was ordered to protect the enormous amount of provision and baggage that so hampers the movements of an Indian army.

Some time after the advance, I found that Brigadier Pennycuik's brigade had failed in maintaining the position it had carried, and immediately ordered Brigadier Penny's reserve to its support; but Brigadier-General Campbell, with that steady coolness and military decision for which he is so remarkable, having pushed on his left brigade and formed line to his right, carried everything before him, and soon overthrew that portion of the enemy which had obtained a temporary advantage over his right brigade.

This last brigade, I am informed, mistook, for the signal to move in double time, the action of their brave leaders, Brigadier Pennycuik and Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes (two officers, not surpassed for sound judgment and military daring, in this, or any other, army), who waved their swords over their heads as they cheered on their gallant comrades. This unhappy mistake led to the Europeans outstripping the native corps, which could not keep pace, and arriving completely blown at a belt of thicker jungle, where they got into some confusion, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, leading the 24th, was killed between the enemy's guns. At this moment, a large body of infantry, which supported their guns, opened upon them so destructive a fire that the brigade was forced to retire, having lost their gallant and lamented leader, Brigadier Pennycuik, and the three other field officers of the 24th, and nearly half the regiment, before it gave way; the native regiment, when it came up, also suffering severely. In justice to this brigade, I must be allowed to state that they behaved heroically, and, but for their too hasty, and consequently disorderly advance, would have emulated the conduct of their left brigade, which, left unsupported for a time, had to charge to their front, and right, wherever an enemy appeared. The brigade of Horse Artillery on their left, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind, judiciously and gallantly aiding, maintained an effective fire.

Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, on the extreme left and rear, charged the enemy's cavalry, wherever they showed themselves.

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which they have expressed to the several Brigadiers, and officers commanding corps, and to the troops generally.

Sir Joseph Thackwell names, with much satisfaction, Brigadier White's conduct of his brigade, Major Yerbury, commanding the third Light Dragoons, the gallant charge of Captain Unett in command of a squadron of that corps, Major Mackenzie, commanding the 8th, and Captain Wheatley, commanding the 5th Light Cavalry, and the conduct of Captain Moore of the 8th, with a squadron detached in support of the artillery. He further notices the assistance he derived from the zeal and activity of Captain Pratt, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant Tucker, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of his division, of Captain Cautley, Major of Brigade, of his Aide-de-Camp Lieutenant Thackwell, and of Lieutenant Simpson, Sub-Assistant Commissary General.

Brigadier-General Campbell speaks in terms of admiration of the 5th Brigade, led on by that distinguished officer, Brigadier Pennycuik, and particularly of the gallant exertions of Her Majesty's 24th Foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, and the good and steady advance of the 25th and 45th Native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Corbett and Major Williams. He particularizes the undaunted example set to his brigade by Brigadier Hoggan, the continued steadiness and gallantry of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod, under the most trying circumstances, the distinguished conduct of Major Flemyng and the officers of the 36th Native Infantry, and of the 46th Native Infantry under Major Tudor, as also the able and zealous exertions of the Brigade Major, Captain Keiller. The Brigadier General also brings to notice his obligations to Major Tucker, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army, and to Captain Goldie and Lieutenant Irwin of the Engineers, who were sent to his assistance, and the cordial and able support which he received from Major Ponsonby, his Assistant Adjutant General; and he particularly mentioned the conduct of Ensign Garden, his Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, and of Captain Haythorne, his Aide-de-Camp, further naming Lieutenant Grant, of Her Majesty's 24th Regiment, Lieutenant Powys, of Her Majesty's 61st, who attended him as orderly officers, and of Lieutenant and Adjutant Shadwell, of Her Majesty's 98th, who was with him as a volunteer.

Sir Walter Gilbert speaks warmly of the charge led by Brigadier Mountain against a large battery of the enemy, and followed up on his right by Brigadier Godby, and of the subsequent conduct of these officers; as also of the conduct of Major Chester, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant Galloway, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of the division, of Lieutenant Colt, his Aide-de-Camp, of Captain Sherwill and Lieutenant Macdonnell, Majors of Brigade, and of Captain Glasfurd, and Lieutenant W. E. Morton, of the Engineers.

The Major-General further mentions the undaunted bravery, on this occasion, of Her Majesty's 29th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve; the distinguished conduct of the 2nd European Regiment under Major Steel, and the manner in which Majors Smith and Way, of the 29th, and Major Talbot, of the 2nd Europeans, seconded their able commanders. He also expresses his thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Jack, commanding the 30th Native Infantry, Major Bamfield, commanding the 56th Native Infantry, who was mortally wounded, Major Corfield, commanding the 31st Native Infantry, and Major McCausland, commanding the 70th Native Infantry, for the manner in which they led their regiments into action, naming likewise Captain Nembhard, of the 56th, who succeeded to the command of that corps; Captain Dawes, commanding the field-battery of the division, and Captain Robbins, of the 15th, who acted as his Aide-de-Camp.

The reserve, consisting of the 15th Native Infantry, and eight companies of the 69th Native Infantry, was ably handled by Brigadier Penny, well seconded by Lieutenant-Colonels Sibbald and Mercer, commanding the corps. The Brigadier particularly mentions the steady conduct of the rifle company of the 69th, under Captain Sissmore, and acknowledges the services of Captain Macpherson, his Major of Brigade, and Brevet Captain Morris of the 20th Native Infantry, who attended him as orderly officer.

Brigadier General Tennant, commanding the artillery division, rendered me every aid, and presided over the noble arm of which he is the head, most creditably to himself, and most beneficially to the service. The Brigadier-General particularly mentions Brigadier G. Brooke, who commanded the whole of the horse

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2nd Troop 2nd Brigade—4 rank and file, 1 lascar, wounded; 2 horses missing.

3rd Troop 2nd Brigade—1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 European officer, 2 rank and file, 3 lascars, 1 syce, wounded; 1 rank and file, 6 syces, 31 horses, missing.

4th Troop 2nd Brigade—1 European officer, 1 syce, 6 horses, killed; 2 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded; 4 horses, missing.

1st Troop 3rd Brigade—1 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

2nd Troop 3rd Brigade—1 rank and file, wounded.

Foot Artillery Brigade.

1st Company 1st Battalion, No. 10 Battery—1 horse, wounded.

3rd Company 1st Battalion, No. 17 Battery—3 horses, killed; 2 European officers, 1 drummer, 2 rank and file, wounded; 1 horse, missing.

1st Company 4th Battalion—1 rank and file, killed; 7 rank and file, wounded.

2nd Company 4th Battalion—1 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

4th Company 4th Battalion—1 rank and file, wounded.

6th Company 7th Battalion, No. 5 Battery—1 horse, killed; 5 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 1 horse, missing.

Park Establishment—1 serjeant, killed.

Total—1 European officer, 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, 1 lascar, 1 syce, 11 horses, killed; 3 European officers, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 28 rank and file, 8 lascars, 1 syce, 7 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 6 syces, 61 horses, missing.

Engineer Department.

6th Company of Pioneers—3 rank and file, wounded.

Cavalry Division.

1st Brigade.

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Nominal Roll of European Officers Killed, Wounded, or Missing.

*Adjutant General's Office, Head Quarters, Camp,
Chillianwalla, January 17, 1849.*

- General Staff—Brevet Major C. Ekins, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, killed; Brevet Major H. T. Tucker, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, contusion; Lieutenant J. S. Paton, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, wounded severely.
- 4th Troop 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery—Lieutenant J. A. Manson, killed.
- 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery—Brevet Major E. Christie, wounded very dangerously, since dead.
- 3rd Company 1st Battalion Artillery—Captain M. Dawes, wounded slightly; First Lieutenant C. S. Dundas, wounded severely.
- Her Majesty's 3rd Light Dragoons—Captain W. Unett, wounded severely; Lieutenant T. H. Stisted, wounded.
- 5th Regiment Light Cavalry—Lieutenant R. Christie, wounded dangerously; Lieutenant A. P. C. Elliot, wounded severely.
- 2nd Cavalry Brigade Staff—Brigadier A. Pope, C.B., wounded severely.
- Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons—Lieutenant A. J. Cureton, killed; Major C. Steuart, wounded.
- 6th Regiment Light Cavalry—Lieutenant A. M. Shepherd, killed; Captain W. J. E. Boys, wounded; Lieutenant H. R. Grindlay, wounded.
- 2nd European Regiment—Lieutenant M. R. Nightingale, wounded very severely; Lieutenant J. Bleaymire, wounded slightly.
- 31st Regiment Native Infantry—Captain W. R. Dunmore, wounded slightly.
- Her Majesty's 19th Foot—Major M. Smith, slight contusion; Lieutenant the Honourable H. M. Monckton, wounded severely; Lieutenant H. T. Metge, wounded very severely; Ensign G. H. Nevill, wounded slightly.
- 30th Regiment Native Infantry—Captain W. H. Ross, killed; Ensign A. C. de Morel, killed; Brevet Major M. E. Loftie, wounded severely; Captain W. C. Campbell, wounded slightly; Captain R. S. Ewart, wounded slightly; Captain C. F. Fenwick, wounded very severely; Captain J. Morrieson, wounded slightly; Lieutenant H. Swinhoe, wounded severely; Ensign T. Pierce, wounded slightly; Ensign J. C. Wood, wounded very severely; Ensign W. F. Leicester, wounded very severely.
- 56th Regiment Native Infantry—Lieutenant W. W. Warde, killed; Ensign F. W. Robinson, killed; Major D. Bamfield, wounded very severely, since dead; Lieutenant W. C. Gott, wounded slightly; Lieutenant L. B. Jones, wounded severely; Lieutenant F. V. R. Jervis, wounded severely; Lieutenant J. H. Bacon, wounded slightly; Lieutenant J. W. Delamain, wounded severely, arm since amputated.
- 45th Regiment Native Infantry—Captain R. Haldane, wounded severely; Lieutenant J. Palmer, wounded severely; Ensign M. H. Combe, wounded slightly; Ensign W. L. Trotter, wounded badly.
- Staff, 3rd Infantry Division—Brigadier General C. Campbell, C.B., wounded slightly.
- Staff, 5th Infantry Brigade—Brigadier J. Pennycuick, C.B., and K.H., killed; Captain C. R. Harris, Major of Brigade, killed.
- Her Majesty's 24th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Brookes, killed; Major H. W. Harris, killed; Captain C. Lee, killed; Captain J. S. Shore, killed; Captain R. W. Travers, killed; Lieutenant G. Phillips, killed; Lieutenant O. B. Payne, killed; Lieutenant J. A. Woodgate, killed; Lieutenant W. Phillips, killed; Ensign H. C. B. Collis, killed; Ensign A. Pennycuick, killed; Major H. Paynter, wounded dangerously; Captain W. G. Brown, wounded slightly; Captain L. H. Bazalgette, wounded severely; Lieutenant G. E. L. Williams, wounded dangerously; Lieutenant R. A. Croker, wounded severely; Lieutenant G. F. Berry, wounded slightly; Lieutenant J. B. Thelwall, wounded severely;

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Inclosure 53 in No. 44.

List of Sirdars and others attached to the Lahore Government, who have not openly joined the Rebels.

1. Raja Tej Sing, Bahadoor
2. Sirdar Bugwan Sing, a youth, cousin of the above
3. Raja Deena Nath
4. Sirdar Utter Sing, Kalcewala
5. „ Lal Sing, son of the above
6. „ Shumshere Sing, Sindanwala
7. „ Keher Sing
8. „ Runjore Sing
9. „ Thakoor Sing
10. „ Hurdut Sing, Pudhanceah
11. „ Richpaul Sing, Mulwye
12. „ Goormookh Sing, Lumnah
13. „ Surdool Sing, son of late Futtch Sing, Man
14. „ Jowala Sing, brother of the above
15. „ Boor Sing, Mehrab
16. „ Rum Sing, Jullawallia
17. „ Sheik Emamooddeen, and his relatives and dependents
18. „ Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt
19. „ „ Misr Rulla Ram
20. „ „ Misr Sahib Dyal
21. „ „ Hureharu Doss
22. Fakeer Noorooddeen
23. Sirdar Mungul Sing
24. „ Jhunda Sing
25. „ Nidhan Sing
26. „ Golab Sing, Bhagoowala
27. „ Jodh Sing, Adawluttec of Umritsur
28. „ Mehtab Sing, Majectia
29. „ Hurdut Sing, brother of above
30. „ Khan Sing, Attarecwala, with his three young relatives, all minors
31. „ Khan Sing, Koharcal
32. „ Sodhi Nihal Sing
33. „ Goor Buksh Sing
34. „ Busunt Sing, son of late Khan Sing Banka

Inclosure 54 in No. 44.

R. Money, Esquire, Officiating Magistrate of Allahabad, to R. Lowther, Esquire, Commissioner of the 4th, or Allahabad, Division.

Allahabad, December 29, 1848.

UJEET SING, the late Raja of Ladwa, has made his escape. I believe he effected it last night. The Burkundauze of the Kotwallee, who was appointed to watch him, was relieved yesterday by another, who was, this morning, found in the Raja's house, most brutally murdered. His legs were tied together, and to his thighs; and his arms tied behind his back; and a large handkerchief had been forced into his mouth so as entirely to fill the orifice, after which a cloth had been bound in several folds over his face, and he was inclosed in a box in which he was this morning found dead. The skin was rubbed off one of his knees, either from his struggling when in the box, or when he was being bound.

I have issued orders for the apprehension of the Raja to all the Thannadars, of the district, and to the frontier Sowars, and have sent copies of proceedings to the magistrates of all the districts through which he might pass, and to the Residents of Lucknow and Nepal, and the Governor-General's Agent in Bun-

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committed himself to an extent which it is hardly possible for him to explain away.

Two documents worthy of your attention among these papers are, the letter* addressed to the Resident at Lahore on the 27th ultimo, regarding his communication with the vakeel of Maharajah Golab Sing, and the Resident's letter of the 30th ultimo,† forwarding the translation of a letter from Golab Sing. I have considered it necessary to address Golab Sing in strong language of advice and warning, intimating plainly to him what part the British Government expect him to adopt, in the present state of affairs, conformably with the obligation imposed upon him by treaty, and pointing out to him the consequences of even a lukewarm conduct, at a time like the present, when the British Government look for, and have a right to demand, his cordial and strenuous cooperation.

You will be sorry to observe, from Brigadier-General Wheeler's report‡ of the proceedings of the force under his command, that the defeat and dispersion of Ram Sing and his followers, which was noticed in my dispatch of the 22nd ultimo, was not effected without loss, two officers having been killed.

Lieutenant Taylor, having gained possession of the fort of Lukkee, retains his hold there firmly; his position has become an important one. A son of Dost Mahomed Khan's, with 2,500 men and two guns, is at Dulcepgurh in Bunnoo, three marches from Lukkee, and "is trying," Lieutenant Taylor writes, "to induce the Bunnoochees and surrounding tribes to join him in a religious war against the Sikhs and Feringees." The advance of the Affghans to Bunnoo occurred, immediately after Attock had fallen into their hands. There is, at this moment, no obstacle to their aggressions west of the Jhelum, except the presence of Lieutenant Taylor, with the irregular force under his command, which has, lately, been considerably strengthened.

You will have received from the Bombay Government the intelligence communicated to Major Jacob, Political Superintendent on the frontier of Upper Sinde, of an Affghan army being on the march from Candahar to Quetta, for the purpose of invading Cutchce and Sinde. The report wants further confirmation of its accuracy; and the season is not one in which it is easy for troops to march through the passes, provided the snow has fallen in its usual quantity; but there seems little reason to doubt that some gathering of troops had taken place at Candahar, and that some move was contemplated. Thus, from various quarters, Dost Mahomed's hostile intentions are manifest. Affghans are in Peshawur—have seized Attock—are in Bunnoo—are said to be moving against the British territory from Candahar—are actually in cooperation with Shere Sing. Affghans are urging the hill chiefs about Cashmere to rise, and aid them to gain possession of that province, promising them jagheers and rewards. Much, therefore, will still remain for the British troops to effect, after the enemy, now immediately opposed to them, has been swept away. The Affghans also must be driven forth from a province which they have invaded, and taken possession of, and be punished for their temerity. Dost Mahomed, untaught by the experience of the past, must be made to feel the folly, and see the utter futility, of his ambitious attempts against the British power.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Mooltan, January 11, 1849.

ON the 7th instant, the seven eighteen-pounder battery was completed and armed, and a mortar battery for three ten-howitzers.

On the 8th instant, the battery for six (twenty-four-pounders) and six (eighteen-pounders) was commenced, and trenches widened: the object of this battery is to keep down the fire of the citadel opposite it, and, eventually, to breach at the north-east angle: the sap (commenced on the 6th) was carried on, the object being to blow in the counterscarp.

On the 9th instant, the sap was advanced about ninety-five feet; the seven eighteen-pounder battery, constructed of fascines and sand-bags, was set on fire

* Inclosure 32 in No. 46.

† Inclosure 33 in No. 46.

‡ Inclosure 31 in No. 46.

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and, thinking that another European officer would be required to assist Lieutenant Taylor, I put this last detachment under the command of Lieutenant George Pearse, of the Madras artillery, whom you had kindly placed at my disposal for general service. This reinforcement was, I believe, at Dera Ismael Khan yesterday, and is, to-day, within reach of a forced march from Lukkee. When Lieutenant Pearse joins Lieutenant Taylor, those two officers will have 3,300 men, twelve guns, and about twenty zumboorahs, with the fort of Lukkee in their possession, as a rallying point; and if Lieutenant Taylor takes up the position he proposes, with his left on the fort of Lukkee, his right on the town and his front towards Bunnoo, I consider it perfectly unassailable by any, but a regular, and well-provided, force.

Still, it is desirable that Lieutenant Taylor should be strong enough, not only to hold his own in Murwut, but to make the Dooranees uncomfortable in Bunnoo, and, for this purpose, I am preparing 1,000 more regular infantry, 500 irregular ditto, 500 irregular horse, and six more guns; who will leave Mooltan in a day or two; and, by the time this reinforcement reaches Lukkee, not only Mooltan will have fallen, but, it is to be hoped, the Sikh army will have been driven over the Jhelum, and the rebel cause be so evidently hopeless, as to induce Mahomed Azim Khan to abandon Bunnoo. Should he not do so, I have told Lieutenant Taylor, that the forcible re-occupation of that valley is a duty which he is neither required, nor expected, to attempt, though its recovery is highly desirable, should a favor-

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ask only for my own life, and the honor of my women. You are an ocean of mercy—what more need be said.

NOTE.—The letter apparently was intended to end here, but is continued in a hurried, and seemingly different, hand as follows:—

This whole affair originated in accident, and my own force was ready to kill and insult me; of my own free-will, I would never have done what I have; nevertheless, I confess myself an offender in every way. If you grant me my life, and protection to my women, I surrender: otherwise,

“It is better to die with honor than to live with disgrace.”

You are a sea of compassion, if you forgive me, I am fortunate; if you do not, I meet my fate with contentment.

Inclosure 7 in No. 46.

Major-General Whish to Dewan Moolraj.

I HAVE received your uzee. In it you write that you only ask for your own life, and the honor of your women. This is my answer: That I have neither authority to give your life, nor to take it, except in open war; the Governor-General only can do this:—and, as to your women, the British Government wars with men—not with women. I will protect your women and children, to the best of my ability. Take notice, however, if you intend to come in at all, you had better do so, before sunrise to-morrow, and come out by the Dowlut gate. After sunrise, you must take the fortune of war.

Inclosure 8 in No. 46.

Notification.

Camp, Mukkoo, January 25, 1849.

THE Governor-General has the highest satisfaction in intimating to the President in Council, and notifying for public information, that he has, this day, received intelligence, that, on the morning of the 22nd instant, when, practicable breaches having been effected, the troops were about to storm the citadel of Mooltan, the Dewan Moolraj surrendered himself with his whole garrison, unconditionally, to the British Government.

The Governor-General directs that a salute of twenty-one guns shall be fired, at every principal station of the Army, as soon as this notification shall be received.

Inclosure 9 in No. 46.

The Adjutant-General to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Camp, Chillianwalla, January 28, 1849.

BY direction of the Commander-in-Chief, I have the honor to inclose, for the information of the Governor-General of India, a copy of a dispatch of the 22nd instant, from Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B., commanding the Mooltan field force, reporting the surrender; on the morning of that day, of the garrison and citadel of Mooltan.

I am further to add, for communication to his Lordship, that, on the receipt of this dispatch, his Excellency was pleased to issue to the army of the Punjab an order (a copy of which is herewith transmitted) expressive of his sense of the great services thus brought to a brilliant and successful termination by the Major-General, and the admirable troops under his command.

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Lordship that Brigadier Markham had the good fortune, on the 7th of November last, and on the 2nd instant, to command columns of attack that were eminently successful.

In my letter of the 7th instant, I noticed the gallant proposition of Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, C.B., commanding Her Majesty's 10th regiment, for a party being given him to escalade the citadel on the 2nd instant; and I am much indebted to that officer on other accounts.

It is also proper for me to notice, in terms of commendation, the other officers commanding corps in the Bengal division, and under canvass the last six months, namely,—Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment; Major Farquharson, commanding 8th Native Infantry; Major Lloyd, commanding 49th Regiment; Major Finnis, commanding 51st Native Infantry; Captain Jamieson, commanding 52nd Native Infantry; Captain Lloyd, commanding 72nd Native Infantry (relieved on the 30th of November by Lieutenant-Colonel Nash, C.B., who was severely wounded in the attack of the 27th ultimo); Captain Inglis, commanding 11th Regiment Light Cavalry; Major Wheeler, commanding 7th Irregular Cavalry; Captain Master, commanding the 11th Irregular Cavalry; and Lieutenant Robarts, commanding squadron of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, who relieved from that charge, on the 30th of November, Lieutenant Plowden, of the 50th Native Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, C.B., Deputy Quartermaster-General, and Major Becher, Assistant Quartermaster-General, have uniformly given me the most efficient aid, and with a willingness that much enhanced it; and the Assistant-Adjutant-General, Brevet-Captain Whish, has performed his laborious duties with a promptness, intelligence, and zeal, that much lessened mine.

Captain Lloyd, in charge of the Commissariat department (assisted by Captains Cooper and Turner, Lieutenants Tombs, Robertson, and Willes), has uniformly made such excellent arrangements that the troops have never been inconvenienced for want of supplies; and that department has in every respect been conducted most satisfactorily.

The Superintending Surgeon, Dempster, has, uniformly, and successfully, applied his talents and assiduity to the promotion of the health and comfort of our sick and wounded, and been ably supported by the medical officers of every corps and department.

The officers of my personal staff, Captain Clark Kennedy, Her Majesty's 18th Regiment, and Lieutenant Nced, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, Aides-de-Camp, have been so unremitting in their exertions to promote the service, that I cannot convey a correct idea of the grateful feeling their conduct has impressed on me. They both merit my warmest commendations and thanks.

I have written this dispatch in much haste, and fear I have omitted the names of some to whom I feel much indebted, in which case I shall not fail to repair the omission.

It is very satisfactory to me to add, in conclusion, that I have always experienced from Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., commanding the Bombay division, and from the brigadiers and officers in command under him, the most willing assistance.

The services of Commander Powell, of the Indian navy, with the steamers under his orders, have been of much value to the objects of the expedition; and a detail of seamen from the vessels has afforded material relief at the batteries on several occasions.

I have had the greatest satisfaction in directing a royal salute to be fired from the citadel at noon, in honor of his Lordship's victory over the Sikhs on the 13th instant; and I shall order another to be fired at sun-set, for the happy termination of military operations in this quarter.

Inclosure 12 in No. 46.

Major Edwardes, to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Mooltan, January 22, 1849.

IT is with heartfelt satisfaction that I announce to you the surrender of Dewan Moolraj to Major-General Whish, C.B., at 9 A. M. this morning, and the occupation, by British troops, of the strong fortress of Mooltan, without the bloodshed of an assault.

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Inclosure 14 in No. 46.

*Major-General Whish to the Adjutant-General.**Camp, Mooltan, January 23, 1849.*

IN the haste of despatching to you my letter of yesterday's date, I had not leisure to examine the fair copy previous to signature. I find to-day a clerical error, in the omission of Major Day's (of artillery) name, immediately before that of Brevet-Major Blood, which I shall be obliged by your causing to be corrected, previous to its transmission to higher authority, should such a measure be deemed suitable.

Inclosure 15 in No. 46.

*Return of Casualties in the Operations before Mooltan, 1848-49.**Bengal Division.*

Engineer Department, Sappers and Pioneers—18 rank and file, killed ; 7 European officers, 1 Native officer, 5 havildars, 34 rank and file, wounded.
 Artillery—1 European officer, 2 havildars, 10 rank and file, killed ; 4 European officers, 3 havildars, 62 rank and file, wounded.
 11th Regiment Light Cavalry—6 rank and file, wounded.
 7th Regiment Irregular Cavalry—2 rank and file, killed ; 2 Native officers, 4 rank and file, wounded.
 11th Regiment Irregular Cavalry—1 Native officer, 1 havildar, 6 rank and file, wounded.
 Her Majesty's 10th Foot—1 European officer, 13 rank and file, killed ; 4 European officers, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 107 rank and file, wounded.
 Her Majesty's 32nd Foot—2 European officers, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, killed ; 11 European officers, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 102 rank and file, wounded.
 8th Regiment Native Infantry—1 European officer, 3 rank and file, killed ; 3 European officers, 1 Native officer, 2 havildars, 1 drummer, 55 rank and file, wounded.
 49th Regiment Native Infantry—1 European officer, 2 havildars, 8 rank and file, killed ; 2 European officers, 2 havildars, 1 drummer, 56 rank and file, wounded.
 51st Regiment Native Infantry—2 havildars, 7 rank and file, killed ; 1 European officer, 2 havildars, 21 rank and file, wounded.
 52nd Regiment Native Infantry—1 European officer, 7 rank and file, killed ; 1 Native officer, 4 havildars, 38 rank and file, wounded.
 72nd Regiment Native Infantry—1 Native officer, 24 rank and file, killed ; 4 European officers, 3 Native officers, 2 havildars, 1 drummer, 46 rank and file, wounded.
 Total—7 European officers, 1 Native officer, 7 serjeants or havildars, 108 rank and file, killed ; 36 European officers, 9 Native officers, 29 serjeants or havildars, 5 drummers, 537 rank and file, wounded.

Bombay Division.

Staff—1 European officer, wounded.
 Engineer Department, Sappers and Pioneers—12 rank and file, killed ; 2 European officers, 1 Native officer, 2 havildars, 1 drummer, 52 rank and file, wounded.
 Artillery—9 rank and file, killed ; 2 European officers, 2 havildars, 25 rank and file, wounded.
 Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, 1st battalion—1 European officer, 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, killed ; 2 European officers, 1 drummer, 27 rank and file, wounded.
 1st Bombay Fusiliers—16 rank and file, killed ; 6 European officers, 6 havildars, 2 drummers, 78 rank and file, wounded.
 3rd Regiment Native Infantry—1 rank and file, killed ; 1 European officer, 1 Native officer, 2 havildars, 18 rank and file, wounded.

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Artillery—Captain Bailey (since dead), December 2, 1848 ; Second Lieutenant Henderson, December 30, 1848.

60th Rifles—Major Dennis, Second Lieutenant R. W. Brooke, December 27, 1848.

1st Fusiliers—Lieutenant Mules, December 27, 1848 ; Captain Leith, and Lieutenant Gray, January 2, 1849 ; Lieutenant Dansey, January 12, 1849 ; Lieutenant Herne, January 17, 1849 ; Second Lieutenant Law, January 20, 1849.

3rd Native Infantry—Lieutenant Dyett, December 27, 1848.

4th Native Infantry—Lieutenant Warden, January 2, 1849.

9th Native Infantry—Lieutenant Baugh, December 29, 1848 ; Lieutenant Fanning, January 2, 1849.

19th Native Infantry—Ensign Gordon, January 2, 1849.

Indian Navy—Acting-Master Elder.

Inclosure 16 in No. 46.

Commander Powell, I.N., commanding the Indus Flotilla, to the Commodore commanding the Indian Navy.

Camp before Mooltan, January 11, 1849.

SINCE the despatch of my letter, dated the 3rd instant, announcing the fall of the city of Mooltan, I have the honor to report that the siege has been carried on against the fort; and that our batteries are now within 180 yards of the ditch: in one of these, mounting seven 18-pounders, the officers and men of the Indian navy were employed on the 9th, when, unfortunately, the fascines, of which the lower part of the battery was formed, took fire, by the bursting of one of the enemy's shells: every exertion was made by Lieutenant Berthon, and the officers and men under his command, to extinguish it, but without avail; and it became necessary to move the guns out of the battery into the trench, when the enemy opened a very heavy fire of all arms on them, and I regret to state the men, as per inclosed casualty return, were wounded, and Mr. Elder, Acting Master, had his foot crushed by one of the guns, but he is not seriously hurt.

It is also my painful duty to report the death of Alexander Johnstone, Quartermaster, who died yesterday a little after noon, of the wounds he received in the morning: this is the same man who was slightly wounded on the 31st ultimo, and had gallantly returned to duty: the rest of the wounded I am glad to say are doing well.

The "Comet" and "Conqueror" steamers are still above Mooltan, stopping all water communication. The former vessel will be despatched to Kurrachee, in a day or two, for Lady Lawrence and her party.

The "Napier" and "Meteor" are stationed off Raj Ghat, protecting the bridge and pontoon boats, also those the siege train came up in; and the "Meeanee" is towing up commissariat grain-boats to the same Ghat. The "Planet" also arrived there yesterday, with two 10-inch mortars, 630 shells, and 44 bales of clothing; she is now having a few repairs made good, and will be ready for service down the river.

It is not yet decided what portion of this force is to go to the north-east, after the fall of the fort, and I am afraid the flotilla will be able to afford very little assistance, beyond protecting the boats, and that only to the junction of the Jhelum, as the water is lower than I have ever seen it.

List of Killed and Wounded of the Indian Navy during the Siege of the City and Fortress of Mooltan.

Camp, near Mooltan, January 11, 1849.

Alexander Johnstone, Quartermaster, slightly wounded, December 31, from musket-shot; discharged January 2.

Henry Sandford, severely wounded, January 2, from mortar-shot.

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Inclosure 19 in No. 46.

*General Order by the Governor-General of India.**Ferozepore, February 1, 1849.*

THE Governor-General, having received a dispatch reporting the surrender, on the morning of the 22nd instant, of the citadel and garrison of Mooltan, directs that, together with other dispatches relating to the operations against the city and fort, it shall be published for the information of the army and of the people of India.

The capture of this important fortress, which, during a protracted period, has resisted the powerful armament brought against it, and has been defended with gallantry and endurance, is a just subject of congratulation to the Government of India and to the Army.

The Governor-General desires to convey to Major-General Whish, C.B., his warmest thanks for the valuable service which has thus, under Providence, been rendered to the Government, by the united forces which he commands, for the steady, and skilful, and successful prosecution of a siege, which, at comparatively small loss to ourselves, has inflicted most heavy loss upon the enemy, and has utterly destroyed his strongest fortress.

Brigadier Cheape, C.B., the Chief Engineer of the army, is entitled to the best thanks of the Governor-General, for the zeal and ability with which he has fulfilled the important duty intrusted to him, and, in the discharge of which, he has been well supported by Major Napier, Chief Engineer of the Bengal division, and Major Scott, Chief Engineer of the Bombay division, of the force.

To Brigadier Markham, whose services have been conspicuous, to Brigadier Salter, and to Brigadier Hervey, the Governor-General tenders his warm acknowledgments.

To Brigadier the Honorable H. Dundas, C.B., commanding the Bombay division, to Brigadier Capon, and Brigadier Stalker, the best thanks of the Governor-General are due, for the ready and effective assistance they have rendered upon all occasions, as well in the attack upon the suburbs, on the 27th of December, as in the assault of the city, which their troops were the first to enter, and in all the subsequent operations of the siege.

To Major Garbett and to Major Leeson, commanding the artillery of the Bengal and Bombay divisions, to Commander Powell, of the Indian Navy, and to the heads of the various departments, the Governor-General offers his thanks.

And to all the troops of each division, European and Native, to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, the Governor-General renders his hearty thanks for the gallantry, perseverance, skill, and discipline, which they have displayed, throughout the service on which they have been employed.

With equal cordiality, the Governor-General offers his best thanks to Major Edwardes, C.B., with the irregular force under his orders; and to Lieutenant Lake, who has commanded the forces of our ally, the Nawab of Bahawulpore. The Governor-General congratulates these officers on their having been enabled, with their native troops, to witness, in the capture of Mooltan, the complete vindication of the supremacy of British power, which, during the past summer, their own gallantry and enterprise so materially contributed to sustain.

The Governor-General will have the utmost satisfaction in bringing the services of the force at Mooltan under the favorable consideration of Her Majesty's Government and the Honorable East India Company.

A salute of 21 guns has been ordered to be fired at every principal station of the army in India.

Inclosure 20 in No. 46.

*The Secretary with the Governor-General to Major-General Whish.**Camp, Mulkkoo, January 21, 1849.*

I AM directed to convey to you the desire of the Governor-General that you will reinforce the Commander-in-Chief, without delay, by the force under your command.

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Inclosure 24 in No. 46.

The Resident at Lahore to Major Edwardes.

Lahore, January 25, 1849.

YOU will assume charge of the province of Mooltan, till you receive further instructions, and will make immediate arrangements for the collection of the revenue of the Rubbee harvest.

You are requested to report, without delay, what districts are, at present, in the occupation of the officers of the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and what districts are held by the kardars of Sheik Emamooddeen, and Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt.

You will receive instructions, without delay, regarding the disposal of the prisoner Dewan Moolraj, and his principal officers, who are all, I believe, subjects of the Lahore Government.

Inclosure 25 in No. 46.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Ferozepore, January 30, 1849.

THE Governor-General thinks it hardly necessary to say that Major Edwardes interpreted the orders of Government correctly, as precluding him from giving any conditions of surrender to Moolraj; but not precluding him from promising, in the event of unconditional surrender, the fullest protection to Moolraj's family.

Inclosure 26 in No. 46.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, January 25, 1849.

I FORWARD a letter received from Sheik Emamooddeen and its inclosure, a letter from Bedee Bikrama Sing, exhorting him to join the rebel standard without delay.

Sheik Emamooddeen sent, a few days ago, a letter of similar import, addressed to him by Raja Shere Sing.

I doubt not the Governor-General will be gratified at the fidelity of Sheik Emamooddeen, as evidenced by immediately sending these letters to me. I have expressed to him my approbation of his conduct.

Inclosure 27 in No. 46.

Bedee Bikrama Sing to Sheik Emamooddeen.

ALL the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the country, considering what is due from them as loyal subjects, and upholders of their respective religions, have assembled together. Dost Mahomed also, esteeming the friendship of the Sirkar of more value than worldly matters, is marching hither with his army. Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed and Peer Mahomed Khan, although formerly enemies to the State, have also thought the time opportune for establishing friendly relations. I have brought about this result, and doubt not that they will continue to abide by my suggestions. They have, accordingly, set up their standard, and have been admitted to the holy Punth of the Khalsa. It is matter of astonishment that you, who have received so many favors from the Sirkar, have not also joined us. Since life is short, it is not becoming in you to forget what is due from you.

Although it was unnecessary for me to write to you, yet, in consideration of

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The Governor-General repeats to the Commander-in-Chief, and to the Army, the assurance of his cordial thanks; and expresses his confident belief that the victory which, under Divine Providence, they have won, will exercise a most important influence on the successful progress of the war in which they are engaged.

Inclosure 29 in No. 46.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Adjutant-General.

Ferozepore, January 31, 1849.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's dispatches, dated the 5th, 10th, and 16th ultimo, reporting the particulars of an action with the enemy at Sadoolapore, and the passage of the Chenab, by Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, K.C.B.

The Governor-General regrets to find that he, inadvertently, omitted to issue instructions, founded on a minute which he had recorded, on the subject of the dispatches under acknowledgment.

His Lordship begs to congratulate the Commander-in-Chief, on the success of the measures which he adopted for effecting the passage of the Chenab, and to convey to him the assurance of his satisfaction with, and his best thanks for, the judicious arrangements by which he was enabled, with comparatively little loss, to carry into execution his plans for the passage of that difficult river, and for compelling the retreat of the Sikh army, from the formidable position which they occupied on its further bank, after they had been engaged, and beaten back, by the forces under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell.

The result of his Excellency's movements, in driving the Sikh army from their entrenchments, and forcing them to retire to the other extremity of the Doab, was of much importance.

The Governor-General offers his best thanks to Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, for his successful direction of the force under his command, and for the dispositions by which he compelled the enemy to retire, and, ultimately, to quit the ground he had occupied.

The Governor-General tenders his best thanks to Brigadier-General Campbell, for the able assistance which he rendered to Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, for the powerful and effective use which he made of the artillery under his command.

The Governor-General has had much gratification in observing the terms in which the Commander-in-Chief has spoken of the army under his command in the field; and he concurs with his Excellency in bestowing upon them the praise which is their due.

Inclosure 30 in No. 46.

The Adjutant-General to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Camp, Chillianwalla, January 30, 1849.

BY direction of the Commander-in-Chief, I have the honor to inclose, for the information of the Governor-General of India, a copy of a dispatch, of the 21st instant, from Brigadier-General H. M. Wheeler, C.B., commanding the Punjab division and Jullundur field force, reporting the success of his operations against the rebel Ram Sing.

Inclosure 31 in No. 46.

Brigadier-General H. M. Wheeler, C.B., commanding Jullundur Field Force, to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Puthankote, January 21, 1849.

ON the 8th instant, I marched from Puthankote, with my whole force, excepting the 4th Regiment Native Infantry, and a ressallah of irregular cavalry, which I sent, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel D. Downing, up the bed of the

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have fallen on different parts of the hill, which have not been seen. Of their wounded, I know nothing.

Major Fisher and Captain Jackson, with the mounted portions of their corps, followed me up the mountain, where, I'll venture to say, cavalry never were before, in the hope of being able to pursue the enemy when beaten, but did not reach in time.

I have had on this, as indeed on every other, occasion, the most hearty and cheerful aid from the staff of all grades, the whole of whom accompanied me.

I received the most cordial aid in all points from Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Melvill, and am most grateful to those gentlemen.

I am, in a word, pleased with all, and of all ranks, who were under my personal command.

Ram Sing's party is utterly broken up for the present, and he has re-crossed the Ravee with two followers.

Return of Killed and Wounded in the Force commanded by Brigadier-General H. M. Wheeler, C.B., in the Assault and Capture of the Heights of Dulla, on January 16, 1849.

3rd Regiment Native Infantry—1 sepoy, slightly wounded.

2nd Regiment Irregular Cavalry—1 sowar killed; 1 sowar severely, and 1 slightly, wounded.

16th Regiment Irregular Cavalry—Captain commanding, Captain W. W. Davidson, severely wounded, bullet in the right hand; 1 native officer, severely wounded; 1 sowar severely, and 2 slightly, wounded.

1st Regiment Sikh Local Infantry—Lieutenant second in command, Lieutenant J. Peel, dangerously wounded, since dead; 1 jemadar, 2 sepoys, killed; 1 havildar, 4 sepoys slightly, 1 naick, 3 sepoys, severely, 2 sepoys dangerously, wounded.

Total—4 killed; 20 wounded.

N.B.—Cornet Christie, 7th Light Cavalry, killed.

Inclosure 32 in No. 46.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Mullainwalla, January 27, 1849.

WITH reference to your communications with the Dewan of Maharajah Golab Sing, I am directed to state, that the events that have lately happened, render it incumbent upon the Governor-General to address the Maharajah in language still stronger and more explicit.

Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan appears to have committed himself, now, to an extent which it is hardly possible for him to explain away. One of his sons is, undoubtedly, with Chuttur Sing, near the Jhelum.

The Dost himself is on the right bank of the Indus, close to Attock, which he has taken.

Another of his sons, has descended, with a force, into Bunnoo and Lieutenant Taylor, at Lukkee, is in expectation of being there attacked by them.

All this makes it probable that the British troops will have much to do yet, before tranquillity can be restored.

On the other hand, the Commander-in-Chief has defeated the Sikhs at Chillianwalla, but has not destroyed their army, or their power. They are, still, on this side the Jhelum; and, to drive them across the river, another action seems inevitable.

In the hill country, the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing, however inferior they may be in the field, could act with great effect against an enemy: and they are bound to act, for the Maharajah, by Article VI. of the Treaty, engages to "join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills."

The Governor-General, therefore, requests that you will address a letter to Maharajah Golab Sing, informing His Highness that the city and fort of Mool-

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and decidedly than he has hitherto done; and repeated the statement I had before made to him in writing, in accordance with the terms of your letter of the 19th instant.*

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter dated the 27th instant, and have this day addressed a khurreeta to the Maharajah, in accordance with the instructions it contains.

Inclosure 34 in No. 46.

Maharajah Golab Sing to the Resident at Lahore.

Srinuggur.

IN these days, when the misrepresentations of evil-disposed persons bear a high premium, and no distinctions are recognised between friends and enemies, I thought it proper to send to you my trusty and confidential servant, Dewan Jowala Sahae, who has, I trust, made you acquainted with all that has occurred. It is notorious as the day, in what manner I have been treated by the Sikhs, since the death of Maharajah Runjeet Sing; and their feelings towards me remain unchanged. The result has been, that I have thrown aside all my former connections and interests, and attached myself unreservedly to the British; and so strong do I remain in this resolution that, even if the mountains should rock, I should, nevertheless, firmly retain my position. With the exception of the British, I regard all, whether Sikhs or Affghans, as my enemies. The Sikhs are they who murdered five of my family, and plundered my property. The Affghans look upon this country as their hereditary possession, and, without the aid of the British, I could not have kept my hold on it.

On the first occurrence of the present disturbances, my desire was, personally, to lend my assistance; but, as this did not meet with your approval, I considered my own wishes to be subordinate to your orders, and occupied myself by lending all the aid in my power to Captain Abbott. I directed Meean Runbeer Sing to obey your instructions in every respect; and I have sent to Jowala Sahae a detailed account of the difficulties which have arisen here, with the particulars of which he will make you fully acquainted.

The Barukzyes, who consider Cashmere to be an hereditary possession of their family, have sent purwannas to several persons, promising them Jagheers, and have their eyes fixed upon the country. As yet, however, I remain firm in my possession, by the assistance and support of the British; and my only hope is to reside under the shade of their protection. As long as I shall continue to retain my present feelings, I trust to deserve the good will and favor of the British, and desire that the face of those who have defamed me may be blackened. I have written to you thus, that my intentions may not be misunderstood.

Inclosure 35 in No. 46.

Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.

Lukkee, January 12, 1849.

YESTERDAY evening, I received accounts of Mahomed Azim Khan, to the effect that he had marched from Khoorrum and reached Jhul, on the road to Bunnoo; that he had with him four guns, and a large force. Last night, a messenger from Meer Alim Khan came, stealthily under the walls of Lukkee, and hailed the sentry, who encouraged him to speak, and he then delivered his message, which was, to exhort the garrison of Lukkee to remain staunch, as the Dooranees had arrived in force in Bunnoo, and would be at Lukkee the next day; the messenger was seized, and confined. In the middle of the night, I received letters from Jaffier Khan and a spy, confirming the report, and giving different accounts of the numbers of the enemy. To-day, I have been fully employed in hearing the accounts of messengers, summoning

* Inclosure 49 in No. 44.

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Inclosure 37 in No. 46.

Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident at Lahore.

Lukkee, January 15, 1849.

A SON of Dost Mahomed Khan, with 2,500 men and two guns, is at Duleepgurh in Bunnoo, three marches from this, and is trying to induce the Bunnoochees, and surrounding tribes, to join him in a religious war against the Sikhs and Feringees. His force is small, even for the nucleus of such a movement; and as his advance on Bunnoo, which took all by surprise, occurred just about the time that the news of the fall of Attock must have reached him, I am inclined to apprehend that the Ameer would not have directed him to advance, had he not intended to support, and cooperate with, him by other movements. The possession of Attock would enable him to detach a strong force in the direction of the Derajat, which might either march down the left bank of the Indus, or drop down that river in boats, or march through the Kohat country. This force to be joined by the Bunnoo column on its arrival. Our armies on the Jhelum are occupied with the Sikh force in their front; and this small irregular force is, at present, the only obstacle to aggression west of the Jhelum. Supposing, then, the Ameer to wish to assist in the great game, create a diversion in favor of the Sikhs, and, at the same time, lay hands on the provinces ceded to him, in his compact with Chuttur Sing, I can conceive nothing more obvious than such a move as the one above alluded to. Mahomed Azim Khan, with his present force, could not, I think, injure me; but if, by representing that his sole object in coming, is to establish Mussulmanec west of the Indus, and free the oppressed people of these districts from a foreign yoke, he succeeds in inducing the turbulent, and uncertain, population of Bunnoo and Murwut to join him, the case might be different. I am, therefore, of opinion that it is very desirable that this frontier should be strengthened and rendered safe from aggression, and that, not merely with a view to the protection of the provinces themselves, but to avoid the evil effect upon our whole strategy, of their being invaded by the Affghans, at this juncture. Reinforcements to the extent of 1000 irregulars, six guns, and a regiment of infantry, are on their way to join me. This is a good reinforcement, and will, I doubt not, be sufficient; but, supposing the Affghans to make anything like a leading move from above, there should be a stronger nucleus of regular infantry. The Khans with me say, that Mooltan is an affair of vast importance, and so is the campaign on the Jhelum; but the stopping up of this road, and warding off Affghan aggression from these districts, is of equal importance with either; and, in a minor degree, I concur in the opinion. In all this, I am supposing Ameer Dost Mahomed to be hand and heart in the Sikh cause, or rather in his own cause, as identified with that of the Sikhs, and anxious to aid it to the uttermost; that his forces are numerous, and well equipped; and that he has leaders able to undertake, and carry out, a bold line of strategy; all which points are open to doubt; but that should not, I think, affect our precautionary measures. My wish is, if possible, to halt the supports on the Dera frontier, instead of allowing them to join me here. In case of invasion, both Lukkee and Esakhail are too near the hills to be good positions for an army of limited strength. It would only be on their debouching on the plain, that I should be able to ascertain the real strength of the invaders, and, then, there would be no leisure for taking measures accordingly; whereas, from the Dera border, with the two forts of Esakhail and Lukkee strongly garrisoned in front of me, that leisure would be insured. I do not wish to retire from this immediately, as it would be immediately supposed that I was retiring before Mahomed Azim; but if I see no cause to apprehend attack from him, I shall halt the reinforcements at the Peyzoo Durrah, and, perhaps, send back the Dera guns to join them, and thus make that the main army, while I remain here myself to collect the revenue, settle the province, &c. The Peyzoo Durrah is one long march from this, and it would be a very difficult matter for Mahomed Azim to attack me under the walls of Lukkee, with support so near. Lukkee is being repaired and strengthened, and, with the men I put into it may be counted

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to Hussan Abdal to prevent the junction with Sirdar Chuttur Sing of the regiment moving up at his call from Kahoota, to co-operate generally with Captain Abbott, and to keep in control the inhabitants of the Khatir districts, with whom he was well acquainted.

Captain Nicholson's admirable arrangements at this time, and the success which, for a considerable period, accompanied them, and the opposition offered by him, with his new levies, to Chuttur Sing's army, have been already reported to Government, as have his proceedings, at the time when Sirdar Ootar Sing went to him, while cooperating with Captain Abbott, to prevent the Sikh army in rebellion leaving the fastnesses of Hazara.

After the release of the Pukli brigade, and the advance of Chuttur Sing's force from Hazara, Captain Nicholson, with his levies, continued in his immediate neighbourhood, threatening his flanks and rear, and watching his movements, being ready, had Chuttur Sing, at that time, attempted the siege of Attock, to throw himself into that fortress to assist Lieutenant Herbert, who had, in the interim, been sent with reinforcements from Peshawur in its defence, and, at the same time, was prepared to act on the communications, and cut off the supplies, of the rebel force, had it, as was, at the time, expected by Captains Abbott and Nicholson, marched to the southward.

At this period, the insurrection was spreading in Chuch, and it was a great object to prevent, if possible, its extension in the Khatir districts, and towards Futteh Jhung and Chuckowal. The presence of Captain Nicholson, at this time, in these districts was of the greatest benefit. He continued on the very verge of the rebellion, as it were, with a very small force of newly raised followers, assuring the people, awing the wavering officials, and staying the encroaching tide of insurrection.

Captain Nicholson, in these operations, performed several very gallant actions, briefly described to me in a couple of lines in private notes, in one of which, in an attempt to dislodge the enemy from the Boorj which commands the Margulla Pass, he was wounded in the face, in personal conflict with some regulars of Baba Pandee Ramdial's regiment.

He continued in constant communication with Major Lawrence in Peshawur; and when Chuttur Sing and his rebel adherents cut off the Lahore daks, and stopped the direct road, Captain Nicholson kept open the communication with the capital *via* Futteh Jhung, Chuckowal, and Pind Dadun Khan.

Captain Nicholson was thus employed, keeping all along within such distance of Attock that, if a siege or investment of the place were threatened, he could at any time throw himself into the fort, when he received an urgent letter from Mrs. Lawrence, describing herself to be in great danger at Chuckowal, stating that she intended to march towards him, and begging him to move on Chuckowal to her aid. Captain Nicholson immediately set off with the followers he had collected, towards Chuckowal, marching night and day, till he learnt that Mrs. Lawrence's escort, instead of bringing her towards him at Futteh Jhung, had conveyed her back towards Kohat. He made a long forced march in the direction of Kohat, in the hope of overtaking her; but, finding that impossible, he moved on Chuckowal, to seize, and punish, the parties who were said to have stopped, and demanded money from, Mrs. Lawrence, and to have closed the road against her further advance.

Captain Nicholson found that, though the disturbance was spreading around Chuckowal, there was, up to the time that Mrs. Lawrence reached the place, nothing to have prevented her proceeding with perfect safety, had her large escort been faithful, and that it was evident that, through the treachery of the escort furnished by Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and commanded by his son, Khwajah Mahomed Khan, she had been taken back to Kohat.

At Chuckowal, Captain Nicholson learnt that the insurgents had planned the seizure of the fort of Pind Dadun Khan, and the Government treasure therein, amounting to one and a half lakhs of rupees. This treasure Raja Deena Nath had omitted to bring away with him, on his return from Chuckowal, nor had he made any arrangement for its security. A guard of two companies of Poorbeahs had been sent by me from Lahore, to secure this treasure, some time before; but, instead of proceeding to Pind Dadun Khan, they had halted at Meanee, put themselves in communication with Sirdar La. Sing, Morarjee, at Rotas, and joined the rebels.

The rebels, at this time, occupied the passes of the Fair Range, between

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The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Camp, Ferozepore, February 7, 1849. (No. 10.)

I FORWARD a correspondence with Major Macgregor, the Governor General's agent at Benares, regarding Maharanee Junda Khore of Lahore, and the communications which Mr. Newmarch, an attorney of the Calcutta Supreme Court, has held with her.

In October, the Maharanee, acting by Mr. Newmarch's advice, preferred complaints to me regarding the treatment to which she has been subjected by being removed from the Punjab, and placed under surveillance at Benares, and applied for an investigation into her conduct. Major Macgregor was told to inform her, that her conduct was examined by the Government of Lahore, and was found to have been such as to render necessary the measures of punishment, and precaution, which have since been taken, and that the Government of India saw no reason to renew, and declined to renew, investigations which had already been completed, and acted upon.

It appears that Mr. Newmarch afterwards made an application to the Supreme Court, to bring the Maharanee's case before that tribunal; and, the application having been refused, he is now prepared to proceed to England, and appeal, on behalf of his client, to the Court of Directors, and to Parliament, provided he receives, for his pains and costs, the sum of 50,000 rupees.

I transmit, in connection with this subject, a letter* from the Resident at Lahore, dated the 29th ultimo, inclosing a translation of the decision of the Durbar for the removal of the Maharanee from the Punjab.

Inclosure 1 in No. 47.

Major Macgregor, C.B., Governor-General's Agent at Benares, to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Benares, October 16, 1848.

MR. JOHN NEWMARCH, solicitor, arrived at Benares on the 4th, and returned to Calcutta on the 12th instant.

During Mr. Newmarch's stay here, he paid the Maharanee Junda Kore of Lahore several visits, all of which took place in my presence.

The Maharanee related a very full account of all the occurrences which had taken place in the Punjab, in which she happened to be in any way concerned, from the period that her brother was slain by the Sikh soldiery, up to her arrival here, which was explained to Mr. Newmarch, by an interpreter brought with him for that purpose.

She dwelt much on the severity of her imprisonment in the fort of Sheikhoopoor, and on the nature of her rigid confinement now at Benares, and also on the hardship of having been deprived of all her jewels and valuables, on her arrival here.

Mr. Newmarch prepared a letter, to be addressed by the Maharanee to the Governor-General, the contents of which were explained to her, of which she approved.

Inclosure 2 in No. 47.

J. Newmarch, Esq., to Major Macgregor.

Benares, October 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honor to inclose a letter addressed, by Her Highness the Maharanee Junda Kore, to the Governor-General of India, which she requests you will do her the favor of laying before his Lordship. The letter is written in English, but it has been very fully explained to Her Highness.

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Jemadar of the Bawarchee Khana	20
Four cooks at 8 rupees each	32
Jemadar of the Palkee bearers	20
Ten bearers at 6 rupees each	..	..	..	60
Ram Kissen	..	..	..	30
Khang Sing	..	..	..	30
Golab Sing	..	..	..	30
Moddee Khosalee	..	..	..	20
Narain Sing	..	..	..	15
Six zel wallah at 6 rupees each	..	..	..	36
Carriage Jemadar	..	..	..	12
Man under him	..	..	..	6
Dhobee wages 7 rupees, and 1 rupee per day for Mussalah				37
Dirgio	..	..	..	8
Mihter	..	..	..	6
Four Syces (engaged at Benares)	..	..	..	16
Jemadars of Ferrashes	..	..	..	15
Two Ferrashes at 6 rupees each	..	..	..	12
Ghurree wallah	..	..	..	15
One man under him	..	..	..	6
Barber	..	..	..	10
Bheestees	..	..	..	8
Mehtah Sing	..	..	..	10
An interpreter	..	..	..	40
				<hr/> 2,208

Inclosure 4 in No. 47.

Major Macgregor to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Benares, October 23, 1848.

I FORWARD a letter from Mr. Newmarch to my address, accompanied by a statement shewing the Maharanee's estimated expenses.

The only objection which I see to a compliance with the Maharanee's request for an increase to her present allowance of 1,000 rupees per mensem, is that, in my opinion, she would, then, be able to save money out of her monthly allowance, which might be applied by her to some improper purpose.

As the cold weather is approaching, and as the Maharanee urges that she requires some warm clothing for herself and slave-girls, perhaps, the Governor-General would be pleased to sanction some being made up for that purpose, and charged for, in my contingent bill.

I see no objection to Mr. Newmarch's being furnished with a copy of the inventory of the Maharanee's jewels and property, which were attached, on her arrival at Benares.

Mr. Newmarch, in making allusion to some money belonging to the Maharanee, refers, I believe, to the gold coin, which, with the rest of her property, was made over to the collector here, viz. Mr. M'Leod, and included in the inventory of the Maharanee's property.

Inclosure 5 in No. 47.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to Major Macgregor.

Off Ghazeeepore, November 5, 1848.

THE Maharanee must live within the income provided for her by the Lahore Durbar.

The clothing she has applied for, can either be purchased, and paid for, out of the funds referred to in your letter, or a portion of those funds sufficient for the purchase can be made over to her.

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An appeal to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the British Parliament, and to Her Majesty in England, is now the only course which remains open to your Highness.

Before entering upon this, I deemed it expedient to lay a statement of your Highness's case before the public; which I did, in a letter addressed to the Governor-General, and published in the "Englishman" newspaper, the most extensively circulated journal in India. I have the honor to transmit to your Highness a copy of the paper containing my letter; and, from the remarks which appear in the editorial columns of the "Englishman," and also in those of a contemporary journal, the "Calcutta Star," (which I also transmit) your Highness will perceive that my attempts to influence the organs of public opinion in your Highness's favor, have not been entirely unsuccessful.

It will also be gratifying to your Highness to learn that, since the publication of my letter, I have received assurances, from persons in almost every rank of society in Calcutta, of their sympathy in your Highness's misfortunes, and their conviction that, on an appeal to England, the cruel measures pursued towards your Highness by the Indian Government, arising out of delusion and timidity, will be reversed, and your Highness restored to the regency of the Punjab.

I have now to enter upon the discussion of the all-important topic, the method of conducting your Highness's appeal in England. I have no wish to mislead your Highness for my own advantage. It is possible for this appeal to be conducted, without my proceeding to England, and I hope not without good chance of success; and I am now preparing the necessary memorials, and letters to influential persons, to interest them in your behalf. But, at the same time, I must, in spite of all misconstruction to which my advice may expose me, state my conviction, that the probability of securing a speedy and successful issue to your suit, would be much promoted by my going to England to conduct it in person. There are so many subjects of great interest always before the British Parliament, that your case may be postponed and neglected, unless there be one on the spot, well acquainted with its merits, to devote his whole zeal and energy to have it brought properly forward. Facts have to be got well together; influential persons spoken to; the public journals interested; and every exertion made to press the case on rapidly to a hearing, before it has grown stale, and ceased to attract the attention of the public. For all this agitation, the presence of an agent in England is, if not indispensable, most desirable.

I am willing to proceed thither, as your Highness's vakeel, and stay there, if necessary, for a year; but, as this step would entirely upset all my present business arrangements, and most materially affect my prospects in my profession, I could not, in justice to myself and my family, undertake such a mission for a less remuneration than 3,000*l.* (something more than 30,000 rupees) for my personal services, exclusive of expenses of travelling, printing, fees to officers and public writers, and otherwise, for which I ought to be furnished with not less than 2,000*l.* in addition, and this sum (in all 5,000*l.* or somewhat more than 50,000 rupees,) I should require to be paid, before my leaving this country. I beg your Highness will not misunderstand me; I am quite ready, as heretofore, to render my best services in this country, resting my hopes of remuneration on the chance of the eventual success of your Highness's cause, and being content, in case of failure, to have as my reward the consciousness that I have exerted myself, disinterestedly, in the cause of the oppressed. But I cannot suspend my business, and alter all my plans for the future, which my proceeding to England would necessitate, without being paid, in hand, the sum which I have mentioned above. And large as that sum is, I think the vital importance of your Highness's cause being pushed with the utmost vigor, will well justify its expenditure.

Should your Highness concur with me in my views of the best mode of conducting your appeal in England, it remains to be considered how this large sum of 5,000*l.* can be raised.

Most unquestionably, it ought, at once, to be furnished by Government, on the security of the jewels, and other valuable property, belonging to you, which they hold in their hands; or, should your Highness prefer to raise the money by a sale of a portion of those jewels, or by the realization of the hoondies, which I understand from you, are among the property taken possession of by Government, a sufficient portion of the property ought to be made over to me, for that purpose.

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Whenever Mr. Newmarch shall forward, for the Maharanee, letters free from the objections stated above, the Government will authorize their being delivered to his client.

A list, also, of the jewels deposited in the treasury, will, in that case, be furnished to him.

Inclosure 11 in No. 47.

Major Macgregor to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Benares, January 23, 1849.

I TRANSMIT a letter from the Maharanee Junda Khore of Lahore.

The Maharanee, on my visiting her a few days ago, expressed a desire that I would communicate a message from Her Highness to the Governor-General. I told her that if she would write what she wished to make known to the Governor-General, I would transmit the document to his Lordship.

Inclosure 12 in No. 47.

The Maharanee Junda Khore of Lahore to Major Macgregor.

January 15, 1849.

THE friendship which had subsisted for a period of forty years between Maharajah Runjeet Sing and the British Government, was interrupted by the intrigues of several crafty and ill-disposed persons; but, by the payment of crores of rupees, I restored amicable relations between the two States.

During the late struggle, the British Government expended lakhs of rupees; the Government of the Rajah Duleep Sing expended lakhs of rupees; and thousands of lives were lost; and no good resulted to either of the States.

The British Government has done well, in causing my removal; it has saved my life; ungrateful wretches would have taken it. My wish is to requite the British Government, for the good it has done me: how is this to be effected? Why, in this manner: send me back to the Punjab, and I would repress anarchy, and restore good government. I would advance the interests of the British Government. The British should confide in me; I am a person of integrity, and never tell falsehoods.

If the British would send me to the Punjab, I would settle the affairs of that country in four months, and in such a manner as to meet the approval of the British. If it pleased the British, I would make prisoners of the evil-disposed persons, and cause them to be slain: in fact, I would, in no way, act contrary to the wishes of the British: by sending me back to the Punjab, they would see how wisely I would administer the affairs of that country: what good has arisen from keeping me a prisoner? all has gone wrong in consequence. People should regulate their actions, so as to derive some good from them: make use of my services; and the interests of the British Government would thereby be promoted.

When I was confined in the fort of Sheikhoopoor, I was in possession of property to the value of fifty lakhs, besides two lakhs of rupees in cash. If I had entertained unfriendly feelings towards the British, I had then the opportunity of acting inimically towards them; but I did not do so, because I entertain friendly feelings towards the British; and, from that period to the present time, you yourself are aware that I have not in any way committed myself against the British.

If the British desire to avail themselves of my services—which might prove most beneficial to their interests—now is the time to consider the matter, while misrule prevails throughout the Punjab: should they be suspicious of my intentions, let them be assured that I entertain no evil designs whatever, and should promote their interests.

I don't blame the British, for what I have suffered: I blame my own ungrateful servants. I consider that the British have done me good, in removing me from the scene of disturbances, because it is now the more easily discovered

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separated from the Maharanee, and, in consequence of this determination, the Maharanee has been removed (on the 19th of August, 1847, corresponding with 5th Bhadoun, 1904,) to the fort of Sheikhoopoor. The causes of the above determination having been come to, are these:—1st. On the occasion of concluding the existing arrangements for conducting the government of the Lahore State, it was determined that the Maharanee should take no part in the administration of public affairs; but that Her Highness should live in ease and comfort, in the enjoyment of the liberal allowance assigned to her; notwithstanding which, the Maharanee has, systematically, interfered with, and opposed, the members of the Durbar, and has engaged in a series of proceedings highly injurious to the interests of the State: to such an extent that the business of the administration has been materially hindered. 2dly. The hatred entertained by the Maharanee to the Sirdars composing the Durbar, and the influence exercised by her over her son, will have the effect, 'if not counteracted, of estranging the affections of the Maharajah from the persons of the Sirdars, and of preventing the mind of the Maharajah from being endowed with those principles, and qualities, which are so highly essential, to enable His Highness, on the expiration of his minority, so to conduct the government as to promote the welfare of his country and his subjects. 3rdly. Evil disposed persons, enemies to the true interests of the Khalsa State, encouraged by the presence of the Maharanee at Lahore, and the authority which Her Highness assumes, engage in practices which have the tendency, by degrees, to ruin the country.—These are the causes which have induced the removal of the Maharanee, in which measure it behoves all the well-wishers of the State to be satisfied, and well pleased.

On the 2nd of September, 1847, in accordance with instructions received in a letter from the Government of India, dated the 28th of August, the following communication was made to the Maharanee, in consequence of an appeal made by Her Highness to the Governor-General. "The Maharanee is informed that the act by which she was separated from her son, was the act of the Governor-General deliberately taken, and that it will not be revoked; that the Governor-General is the guardian of the Maharajah, during his minority; and that, at his age, he ought to be educated in a manner becoming his future high station; that Her Highness has misused her power over her son, by causing him to counteract the Government, which is attempting to save the Raj, brought to the very verge of ruin, during the time Her Highness was regent, and only saved by the moderation of the British Government; that Her Highness's mode of life, since March 1846, when, at her solicitation, a British force occupied Lahore, has been of a nature to induce the Governor General no longer to entrust the Prince to be brought up under her tuition; that the motive of the Governor-General's decision has been proclaimed to the Sikh people; and that it now only remains for Her Highness to be resigned to the decision, which is irrevocable, during the Maharajah's minority. The Maharanee is, at the same time, warned that it is her duty to her son not to thwart the British Government, in carrying on the government on behalf of her son; and that if her acts, either by letter or by message, are of a nature to convince the Government that she is so reckless as to persevere in abusing the facilities which her present residence may afford, by attempting to excite discontent and disturbance, on account of the separation from her son, then, the Governor-General will not hesitate to take the next step, of removing Her Highness out of the Punjab, in the just exercise of the power vested in him by the late treaty—as it is the duty of the Governor-General to adopt such measures as he may deem to be most conducive to the interests of her son, and the welfare of the State." Notwithstanding the above warning, and the expostulations and remonstrances which have been, from time to time, addressed to the Maharanee, by the Resident, and the Durbar, Her Highness has not desisted from her intrigues; and, at this time, some of the immediate and confidential dependants of the Maharanee have been convicted of evil practices, and designs, of the most serious character—such as, had they been accomplished, and the intentions of the conspirators fulfilled, would, inevitably, have caused the ruin of the Khalsa State. These persons have paid the penalty of their crimes; but, in the investigation of their case, the name of the Maharanee has been adduced, by the criminals, as the instigator of their offences; and letters from the Maharanee to these parties, in confirm-

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ment. Of his soldiers, nearly 4,000 were taken at Mooltan. Major Edwardes has sent to Ferozepore a large number of those whose homes are in the Manjha; the protected Sikh States, and the British Provinces, under charge of Peer Ibraheem Khan, native agent at Bahawulpore. All deserters from the regiments that accompanied Mr. Agnew, or from General Cortlandt's regiments, and all such as have been conspicuous in the part they have taken against the British, have been retained for trial. Among them, is the reputed murderer of Mr. Agnew. Respecting this man, I have instructed the Resident that he should be tried by a Court, consisting of three European officers, and three Native officers, together with another European as President; that the trial should be entered upon, without delay; and the result, with the sentence, be submitted to me, before it is carried into execution.

The removal of Moolraj to Lahore, has been securely effected. I have sanctioned, at the suggestion of the Resident, his being placed in confinement in Govindgurh, for the present.

There appears to be ample and consistent testimony to the fact, that Moolraj was the moving spring of the insurrection, after it had once broke out; but that the first outbreak was unpremeditated, and, in a manner, accidental.

Lieutenant Taylor gives a most satisfactory account of his proceedings at Lukkee. His position is a strong one, and he has made it what it is. Lieutenant Pollock, with 1,200 regular infantry, 1,000 irregulars, and 6 guns, was at Kulloor, six marches from Lieutenant Taylor, on the 8th instant. "He will remain there," Lieutenant Taylor writes, "for the present, thereby protecting my right flank, and exercising a beneficial influence over the country between the Indus and Jhelum. The arrival of Lieutenant Pollock will give me a disposable force of 5,000 men and 12 guns, with a strong fort, garrisoned by 500 men and 5 guns, to protect my rear; and, could I feel secure that they would not be reinforced, I believe this force would be sufficient to enable me to attack that of the Dooranee Sirdars in Bunnoo; but, as long as they count on being relieved, in case of emergency, in a fortnight, and have so strong a fortress as Duleepghur, to rest upon in the interim, I think it would be rash to attempt to drive them out of Bunnoo, and risk a failure, which would, probably, involve the loss of the advantages we, at present, possess." He goes on to say, that "the inhabitants of Bunnoo are decidedly in our favor, and would hail with joy our re-occupation of the valley, contrasting their present state, with what it was so lately under British management, when every man had his right, and every thing was paid for."

I have requested the Resident to communicate to Lieutenant Taylor my high appreciation of his zeal, gallantry, and prudence, as shown in his operations against Lukkee, and in his proceedings since he has held that fort.

Maharajah Golab Sing has replied, very earnestly, to the warning letter addressed to him. "His letter," the Resident remarks, "is, for him, a bold and indignant reply to what he considers an unjust accusation." He desired to have plain and explicit orders as to what was expected, and required of him, at the present time, stating that he was ready to attend to every requisition, even though his country was in danger.

The Resident was instructed to inform His Highness, that I expect, when the Sikhs are defeated, His Highness' army will be actively employed against them, in the hill country, into which they will be driven. The troops of the Maharajah will be able, in that country, to act against them with effect, to render those services which he has professed his readiness to perform, and which, moreover, he is bound by his Treaty to perform. The Resident was, further, told to warn the Maharajah not to disregard these directions, and that his interests would be materially affected, by the manner, and extent, of his compliance. Sir Henry Lawrence has given an opinion, adverting particularly to a letter from Dost Mahomed Khan, which was taken from Moolraj, that Golab Sing has held altogether aloof from the councils of the insurgents. I have never considered that there was any proof of the Maharajah's complicity with the enemies of the British Government, nor have I preferred against him any such accusation; but, between holding aloof from the insurgents, and cordially cooperating against them, is all the difference between the conduct of a neutral power, and an ally. Golab Sing's neutrality, at the present time, would be scarcely one step removed from actual hostility, for the Treaty to which he owes his power, demands from him the hearty assistance of an ally.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 48.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, February 15, 1849.

I HAD written to General Whish, suggesting that Moolraj should be sent into Lahore in one day, in a Durbar carriage, escorted by a strong party of cavalry. To prevent accidents, riding horses would be also supplied. I have not yet received the General's reply, but have sent the carriage to Ramnuggur. My motive for this step is, lest the prisoner should tamper with the native guard, and, as I do not wish to bring an European one from the army, there will be less chance of attempt to rescue, during a rapid journey, than if the prisoner were brought by regular marches. I have requested General Whish, in case he agree with me, to have the prisoner started at 5 A.M. so that he may be seen at Akalgurh, five miles east of Ramnuggur, his native place, and still reach Lahore before dark. He shall, as ordered, be brought into Lahore under guard, and without any secrecy. I recommend that, after two or three days delay, he be sent to Govindgurh, there to await the Governor-General's final orders. As circumstances alter from day to day, the officer commanding at Ramnuggur must be the best judge of the propriety of sending Moolraj in the manner I suggest.

In regard to the deserters recently captured at Mooltan, I would recommend their being employed on the public works of Mooltan, especially the fortifications, in irons, for terms from two to five years, according to the degree of their guilt. The roads and canals in the neighbourhood will furnish an ample field of labor, when the citadel is put in order. But, perhaps, it would be advisable to suspend judgment on these persons, until the termination of hostilities; simply, for the present, classifying them, according to their degrees of guilt.

Regarding the 2,000 prisoners sent to Ferozepore, I recommend that, at present, no man be released without giving security for future good conduct. All unable to furnish security might, perhaps, be sentenced to hard labor, without irons, inside the frontier jails, for a period of one year, individuals being released whenever they furnished the required security.

Inclosure 5 in No. 48.

The Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident at Lahore.

Camp, Ferozepore, February 19, 1849.

THE Governor-General has no doubt that proper precautions will be taken by you, for the safe conveyance of Dewan Moolraj to Lahore. His Lordship approves of his being sent to Govindgurh, and requests that the commandant of that fortress may be instructed to confine him, rigidly, under European sentries, until the pleasure of the Government is declared.

The Governor-General concurs in your proposal, respecting the deserters at Mooltan.

His Lordship is of opinion that the man supposed to be the actual murderer of Mr. Agnew, should be tried at Mooltan, in open Court.

The Court should consist, his Lordship thinks, of three European officers and three Native officers, together with another European officer as President.

The evidence should be carefully sifted, and recorded, and the result, together with the sentence, should be sent to you, for submission to the Governor-General, before it is carried into execution.

The trial should be entered on, without unnecessary delay.

The Governor-General apprehends that Lieutenant James, now at Mooltan, has been in the habit of hearing judicial cases, and he might fittingly preside in the Court above-mentioned.

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conduct of the war in the Central Punjab, a change of feeling might possibly take place in this respect.

Lieutenant Pollock, with 1,200 regular infantry, 1000 irregulars, and six guns, is to-day at Kulloor, four marches from Esakhail, and six from this. He will, for the present, take up a position at the former place, thereby protecting my right flank, and exercising a beneficial influence over the country between the Indus and Jhelum.

The arrival of Lieutenant Pollock will give me a disposable force of 5,000 men, and twelve guns, with a strong fort, garrisoned by 500 men and five guns, to protect my rear; and, could I feel secure that they would not be reinforced, I believe this would be sufficient to enable me to attack that of the Dooranee Sirdars in Bunnoo; but, as long as they can count on being relieved in case of emergency, in a fortnight, and have so strong a fortress as Duleepgurh to rest upon in the interim, I think it would be rash to attempt to drive them out of Bunnoo, and risk a failure which would, probably, involve the loss of the advantages we, at present, possess; at the same time, I concur heartily in Major Edwardes' expressed opinion of the desirableness of regaining possession of the fort of Duleepgurh, and the province of Bunnoo, should a convenient opportunity offer. Our re-occupation of the valley would be hailed with pleasure, by a large body of the inhabitants; and, had we possession of the fort, I do not think that the people would favor any invader wishing to eject us. When first Mahomed Azim Khan came to Bunnoo, the people were much pleased and delighted at the establishment of Mahomedan rule. The Sirdar, then, gave out that his sole object was to make war with the infidels, and that he had no intention of levying revenue; now, he has both demanded revenue, and subsistence for his men; and his hungry soldiers, of course, take much more than he sanctions; and, on this account, the days of occupation by the Sikhs, under British management, when every man had his right, and everything was paid for, are remembered with favor by the Bunnoochees. You may depend on my watching anxiously for an opportunity of regaining possession of Bunnoo; but, as the expedition involves considerable danger to our defensive position in the Derajat, I shall not willingly undertake it, till there is every prospect of ultimate success.

The fort of Duleepgurh is very strongly built; the walls of the inner fort are twelve feet thick at the summit; and the mud of Bunnoo, when dry, is as hard as stone. The ditch is twenty-five feet deep, and can be filled with water, at a few hours' notice. The labor and difficulty of mining under it, would be incredibly great. It would, therefore, be most desirable that the force proceeding against Duleepgurh, should be provided with one or two guns of heavy calibre, capable of effecting a breach in defences such as I have above described. I must confess that I do not know where such guns could be furnished from, at this juncture, unless indeed some of the heavy guns taken at Mooltan, could be made available for the occasion. If they are not anywhere procurable, I dare say the light guns will do the work; and it is, in fact, only under the impression that the Dost's son and nephew, attacked by another class of Affghans, would make an obstinate resistance; coupled with the remembrance that large Sikh armies have failed before a Bunnoochee Mullick's Gurree; that I have thought it necessary to represent how very advantageous the presence of battering guns with the force would, probably, be. The eight-inch shells which Major Edwardes has sent, with the artillery under Lieutenant Pollock, would, probably, be sufficient to induce any other garrison to surrender.

The defences of the fort of Lukkee are being greatly strengthened; it is a very strong and serviceable outpost.

In conclusion, I beg to bring to your notice, how important it is that I should receive regular intelligence from the main army, on the movements of which, my future plans entirely depend. I have sent numerous hirkaras, with letters to the political officers in the Commander-in-Chief's camp, but very few have returned; and my last authentic advices from the army, are of the 17th ultimo. Letters would reach me, viâ Lahore, in eleven days; and that would be sufficiently quick to put me in advance of the rest of the world about me; the direct road is unsafe for a dak, and I could never reckon certainly, on receiving intelligence by that route. I should, therefore, feel grateful for any arrangement by which you could insure my being regularly informed of the

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Inclosure 12 in No. 48.

The Resident at Lahore to Sirdar Chuttur Sing.

Lahore, February 5, 1849.

I RECEIVED yesterday evening a letter from you, without date, and also one from my brother, Major Lawrence, dated fourteen days ago.

Your reasons for detaining in confinement my brother and other officers, as well as even ladies and children, are best known to yourself. You say that you are rejoiced at my return, and that you and many other Sikhs are grateful for the kindness which I have shown to you. You are quite right in saying that I have treated you with kindness, for, in truth, you have never received from myself, my brothers, or from Sir Frederick Currie, anything but the utmost kindness.

Your messenger says, you are ready to follow my advice.

My advice is, that which has already been given to you, on the part of the British Government, viz., immediately, on receipt of this letter, to deliver over to Major Mackeson, the British officers, ladies, and children, at present in confinement; and, secondly, to come yourself into the British camp, trusting to the mercy of the Governor-General.

Inclosed is a copy of a proclamation this day issued by me, under orders from the Governor-General.

No more can be promised to men with arms in their hands.

Inclosure 13 in No. 48.

Proclamation by the Resident at Lahore.

Lahore Residency, February 5, 1849.

A PROCLAMATION was issued by Sir Frederick Currie, on the 18th of November last. I now, again, make known, by order of the Governor-General, the terms on which alone pardon may still be obtained.

They are, 1st. Unconditional surrender; it being understood that no man's life shall be forfeited, for the part he has taken in hostilities against the British Government.

2nd. That the soldiers now in rebellion shall, on laying down their arms, be permitted to return to their homes, and to remain there in security; and that those Sirdars who possessed Jagheers, shall not be entirely deprived of the means of subsistence.

Let it further be observed, that, in order to be entitled to the terms above-mentioned, the submission must be immediate. No part of these terms refer to Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, Barukzye.

Inclosure 14 in No. 48.

The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Lahore, February 16, 1849.

I INCLOSE a translation of my communication, of this day, to Maharajah Golab Sing.

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of all the means at our disposal, and so conspicuous a manifestation of the superiority of our arms, as should appal each enemy, and dissolve, at once, their compact, by fatal proof of its futility. The completeness of the victory which has been won, equals the highest hopes entertained. The results are not yet fully developed.

The enemy, estimated at 60,000 men, with 59 guns, were posted near the town of Goojerat. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief opened his artillery upon them, with tremendous effect, on the morning of the 21st of February. A sustained cannonade of three hours compelled them to retire from the positions they had maintained with resolute hardihood. The subsequent advance of the whole British line drove them back, at once, from every point; and, retreat speedily becoming rout, they fled in the utmost disorder, "their ranks broken" (the Commander-in-Chief writes); "their positions carried; their guns, ammunition, camp equipage, and baggage, captured; their flying masses driven before the victorious pursuers, from midday to dusk, receiving most severe punishment in their flight." It will much enhance the gratification which the intelligence of this great success must afford you, to hear that it has been achieved with comparatively little loss, and that, amongst the 53 guns captured, we have recovered those lost at Ramnuggur and Chillianwalla.

In a general order, issued on the 1st of this month*, I gave public expression to the sense I entertain of the devoted gallantry of the noble army, which has gained this victory.

In the name, and on behalf, of the Government of India, I offered to his Excellency Lord Gough, Commanding in Chief, to the generals, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the force, my grateful acknowledgments of the service they have rendered to their country.

I took occasion to express the unbounded confidence I feel, and have ever felt, in this army, and my conviction that they will meet, cheerfully and gallantly, as heretofore, whatever obstacles may yet be opposed to them. I stated, further, that I would earnestly commend their past services to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the East India Company; and I now, accordingly, fulfil this promise.

On the morning after the battle of Goojerat, Major-General Sir W. Gilbert was detached with a force to effect the passage of the Jhelum, and follow the enemy towards Peshawur, in which direction the main body of them that still held together, had fled. Brigadier-General Campbell advanced, at the same time, on the road to Bimber, scouring the country all round in that quarter. He returned, on the 25th, bringing in several guns, which the enemy had abandoned in their flight.

In a letter which I addressed to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 27th ultimo†, I stated the objects which I considered Sir Walter Gilbert should endeavour to accomplish: it was impossible for me not to foresee that much would remain to be done, however complete the discomfiture of the enemy; and I had, therefore, given previous instructions for the detachment of this force, so soon as an action should have been fought, with the result which I anticipated. In my letter of the 27th ultimo, I have told his Excellency, that what has come to pass, and, above all, the recent cooperation of the Affghan troops under the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, with the Sikh army, and his seizure of the Province of Peshawur, renders it indispensable that the war should be prosecuted, at all hazards, until the entire defeat and dispersion of those who are in arms against us, shall be effected; that though the season is advancing, and the difficulties of military operations in the Hills may possibly be great, nevertheless, it is of such vital importance to crush the resistance of the Sikhs at once, and effectually to break up their combination with the Mahomedan power, that the operations of the present campaign against them must be prosecuted vigorously, and without cessation, until these ends have been fully attained.

The one great object, therefore, which I have directed Major-General Gilbert to hold in view, is the entire and irreparable rout of those in arms against us, and the expulsion of the Ameer and his army from the Province of Peshawur, or their destruction.

Major-General Gilbert experienced some difficulty in crossing the Jhelum, in consequence of the enemy having reached the river before him, and burnt all

* Inclosure 4 in No. 49.

† Inclosure 16 in No. 49.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 49.

*Notification by the Governor-General.**Camp, Ferozepore, February 23, 1849.*

THE Governor-General has the gratification of intimating to the President in Council, and notifying for public information, that he has, this day, received a dispatch from Major Mackeson, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General with the Commander-in-Chief, conveying the intelligence, that the forces under his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 21st instant, attacked, and routed, the Sikh army, in the neighbourhood of Goojerat.

The enemy was beaten at every point, and retreated in disorder, leaving, in the hands of the British troops, by whom he was pursued, a great portion of his artillery, his ammunition, and the whole of his standing camp.

The official dispatches of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be published as soon as they are received.

The Governor-General directs, that a salute of twenty-one guns shall be fired at every principal station of the army, on receipt of this Notification.

Inclosure 2 in No. 49.

*Notification.**Camp, Ferozepore, February 24, 1849.*

THE Right Honorable the Governor-General directs the publication of the following letter, from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, reporting the complete defeat of the Sikh army, on the 21st instant. The detailed dispatches will be published hereafter.

Inclosure 3 in No. 49.

*The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.**Camp, in front of Goojerat, February 21, 1849.*

I HAVE the honor to report to your Lordship, that I have, this day, obtained a victory of no common order, either in its character, or, I trust, in its effects.

I was joined, yesterday, by Brigadier Markham's brigade, Brigadier-General Dundas having joined late the preceding night. I moved on, in the afternoon of yesterday, as soon as these troops were refreshed, from Trikur to the village of Shadewal; and, at seven this morning, I moved to the attack, which commenced at half-past eight o'clock; and, by one o'clock, I was in possession of the whole Sikh position, with all of his camp equipage, baggage, magazines, and, I hope, a large proportion of his guns; the exact number I cannot, at present, state, from the great extent of his position, and length of pursuit, as I followed up the enemy from four to five miles on the Bimber road, and pushed on Sir Joseph Thackwell with the cavalry. The rout has been most complete; the whole road, for twelve miles, is strewn with guns, ammunition-waggons, arms, and baggage.

My loss was comparatively small (I hope within 300 killed and wounded), when it is considered I had to attack 60,000 Sikhs, in a very strong position, armed with upwards of sixty guns. The loss of the enemy must have been very severe.

The conduct of the whole army, in every arm, was conspicuous for steadiness in movement, and gallantry in action. The details I shall furnish hereafter.

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conduct throughout the day, particularly to a portion of the 9th Lancers, and the Sind Horse, for their charge against the Affghan cavalry; to the 3rd brigade of infantry under Brigadier Penny, C.B., for their attack on the village of Kalra; and to a portion of Brigadier Hervey's Brigade, for their charge, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, C.B.; all of which have been specially reported by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The Governor-General estimates, highly, the important results which the battle, gained on the 21st ultimo, is calculated to produce. He entertains a hope that the conviction, which the events of that day must force upon all, of the vast superiority, which the British Army derives, from the possession of science and military resource, will induce the enemy shortly to abandon a contest, which is a hopeless one.

The war in which we are engaged must be prosecuted, with vigor and determination, to the entire defeat, and dispersion, of all who are in arms against us, whether Sikhs or Affghans.

The Governor-General has ever felt, and feels, unbounded confidence in the army that serves in India. He relies fully on the conviction that their services will be given cheerfully and gallantly, as heretofore, whatever may be the obstacles opposed to them; and he does not doubt that, with the blessing of Heaven, such full success will continue to follow their efforts, as shall speedily give to the Government of India the victory over its enemies, and restore the country to the enjoyment of peace.

The Governor-General will not fail earnestly to commend the past services of this army to the favorable consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the East India Company.

A salute of twenty-one guns has been ordered to be fired, at every principal station of the army in India.

Inclosure 5 in No. 49.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Head Quarters, Camp, Goojerat, February 26, 1849.

BY my letter of the 21st instant, written on the field of battle, immediately after the action, your Lordship will have been made acquainted with the glorious result of my operations, on that day, against the Sikh army, calculated, from all credible reports, at 60,000 men of all arms, and 59 pieces of artillery, under the command of Sirdar Chuttur Sing and Rajah Shere Sing, with a body of 1,500 Affghan horse, led by Akram Khan, son of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan; a result, my Lord, glorious indeed, for the ever-victorious army of India; the ranks of the enemy broken, their position carried, their guns, ammunition, camp equipage, and baggage, captured, their flying masses driven before their victorious pursuers, from mid-day to dusk, receiving most severe punishment in their flight: and, my Lord, with gratitude to a merciful Providence, I have the satisfaction of adding that, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the enemy, this triumphant success, this brilliant victory, has been achieved with comparatively little loss on our side.

The number of guns taken in the action, and captured in the line of pursuit, I now find to be fifty-three.

The official report made by the Adjutant-General of the army, on the 20th instant, will have informed your Lordship that I had directed Brigadier-General the Honorable H. Dundas to join me, by forced marches, and that I had closed up to so short a distance to the Sikh army, that they could not possibly attempt the passage of the Chenab, in order to put into execution their avowed determination of moving upon Lahore, make a retrograde movement by the Kooree Pass (the only practicable one for guns), or, indeed, quit their position, without my being able to attack them, and defeat their movement.

On the 18th instant, Brigadier Markham had proceeded from Ramnuggur, up the left bank of the river, to Kanokee, to which I had directed forty-seven boats to be sent up. On the morning of the 20th, this officer crossed the Chenab, by my instructions, and joined me at 11 o'clock, A.M. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Byrne was directed to move down the left bank, from the position

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advance, and was carried, in the most brilliant style, by a spirited attack of the 3rd brigade, under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the 2nd Europeans, 31st and 70th Regiments of Native Infantry, which drove the enemy from their cover, with great slaughter.

A very spirited and successful movement was also made, about the same time, against a heavy body of the enemy's troops, in and about the second, or Chota, Kalra, by part of Brigadier Hervey's brigade, most gallantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, of Her Majesty's 10th Foot.

The heavy artillery continued to advance with extraordinary celerity, taking up successive forward positions, driving the enemy from those they had retired to, whilst the rapid advance, and beautiful fire, of the horse artillery and light field batteries, which I strengthened, by bringing to the front the two reserved troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind, Brigadier Brooke having the general superintendence of the whole of the horse artillery, broke the ranks of the enemy at all points. The whole infantry line now rapidly advanced, and drove the enemy before it. The nullah was cleared, several villages stormed, the guns that were in position carried, the camp captured, and the enemy routed in every direction, the right wing and Brigadier-General Campbell's division passing in pursuit to the eastward, the Bombay column to the westward of the town.

The retreat of the Sikh army, thus hotly pressed, soon became a perfect flight, all arms dispersing over the country, rapidly pursued by our troops, for a distance of twelve miles, their track strewn with their wounded, their arms, and military equipments, which they threw away to conceal that they were soldiers.

Throughout the operations thus detailed, the cavalry brigades on the flanks were threatened, and occasionally attacked, by vast masses of the enemy's cavalry, which were, in every instance, put to flight by the steady movements and spirited manœuvres of our cavalry, most zealously and judiciously supported by the troops of horse artillery attached to them, from whom the enemy received the severest punishment.

On the left, a most successful and gallant charge was made upon the Affghan cavalry, and a large body of Goorchurras, by the Sinde horse, and a party of the 9th Lancers, when some standards were captured.

The determined front shown by the 14th Light Dragoons, and the other cavalry regiments, on the right, both regular, and irregular, completely overawed the enemy, and contributed much to the success of the day. The conduct of all, in following up the fugitive enemy, was beyond all praise.

A competent force under the command of Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert, resumed the pursuit towards Jhelum, on the following morning, with a view of cutting off the enemy from the only practicable gun road to the Jhelum. Another division of infantry, under Brigadier-General Campbell, advanced on the road to Bimber, scouring the country in that direction, to prevent their carrying off the guns by that route; and a body of cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford, successfully pushed on several miles into the hills, and 24 from Goojerat, accompanied by that most energetic political officer, Captain Nicholson, for the same purpose; whilst I remained in possession of the field, for the purpose of supporting these operations, covering the fords of the Chenab, and destroying the vast magazines of ammunition left scattered in all directions. I am happy to add that these combinations have been entirely successful, the detached parties coming, at every step, on the wreck of the dispersed and flying foe.

Having thus endeavoured to convey to your Lordship the particulars of the operations of the battle of Goojerat, I beg now to offer my heartfelt congratulations to your Lordship, and to the Government of India, upon the signal victory achieved, under the blessing of Divine Providence, by the united efforts, and indomitable gallantry, of the noble army under my command; a victory, my Lord, as glorious to the army that gained it, as it must be satisfactory to yourself and the Government of India, from the very important and decisive results to be expected from it.

It is quite impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the gallant and steady conduct of the officers and men, as well Native as European, upon this occasion.

The brilliant service they have performed, in so signally defeating so vastly superior a force, amongst whom were the élite of the old Khalsa army, making a last, united, and desperate struggle, will speak for itself, and will, I am confident, be justly estimated by your Lordship.

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such duties; as has Dr. Renny, Superintending Surgeon of this army, who has been indefatigable in his professional exertions, and well organized medical arrangements.

I feel I cannot, too prominently, bring to notice the valuable exertions of Dr. Macrae, Field Surgeon, and of the medical officers of the army generally; they have been most unwearied, and praiseworthy.

To Captain Ramsay, Deputy-Commissary-General, and to the officers of his department, I am much indebted, and feel grateful for their unceasing and successful exertions, amidst all difficulties, to supply the troops, and thus preserve the efficiency of the army.

The officers of my personal staff have well merited my best thanks, and your Lordship's favorable notice; Captain Haines, Military Secretary, who has rendered me most valuable aid, Brevet-Major Bates, A.D.C., Lieutenant A. Bagot, A.D.C., Lieutenant S. J. Hire, A.D.C., Captain Gabbett, A.D.C., Lieutenant G. Hardinge, A.D.C., and Lieutenant W. G. Prendergast, my Persian Interpreter.

I beg also to acknowledge the valuable assistance I have received from the Political Officers, Major Mackeson, Mr. Cocks, Captain Nicholson, and Lieutenant Robinson, both in the field, and throughout the operations. I regret to add that Mr. Cocks was seriously wounded, during the action, in a rencontre with a Sikh horseman.

I would also bring to your Lordship's notice the name of Lieutenant Stannus, of the 5th Light Cavalry; this officer has commanded the cavalry party attached to my escort, throughout the operations, to my entire satisfaction. He was severely wounded on the 21st, when gallantly charging a party of the enemy's horsemen.

Major Austruther, of the Madras artillery, Lieutenant Mayne, of the Madras cavalry, and Captain Showers, of the 14th Native Infantry, attended me in the field.

I have, most unwillingly, been delayed from sooner forwarding this dispatch, from the circumstance of having only this day received Brigadier-General the Honorable H. Dundas's report; and some of the casualty returns have not, even yet, reached me. As soon as the whole come in, a full amended general return shall be transmitted, without loss of time, for your Lordship's information.

I have the pleasure to inclose a plan of the battle of Goojerat; also a return of the captured ordnance.

P.S.—The casualty lists having arrived, I have the honor to inclose the return of killed and wounded, which I am sorry to see so much heavier than I, at first, anticipated. Several of these were occasioned by accidental explosions of the enemy's tumbrils and magazines, after the action.

Inclosure 6 in No. 49.

Brigadier-General J. Tennant, commanding the Artillery Division of the Army of the Punjab, to the Adjutant-General.

Camp, Goojerat, February 22, 1849.

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that the Bengal Artillery of the Army of the Punjab were allotted as follows, during the action of yesterday:—

Lieutenant-Colonel C. Grant.

1st Troop, 3d Brigade, Captain W. R. Warner. Attached to Brigadier Lockwood's Cavalry Brigade, on the right.

Major Garbett.

4th Troop 1st Brigade, Captain M. Mackenzie. 4th Troop 3d Brigade, Captain J. Anderson. With the 1st division of Infantry, commanded by Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B.

2d Troop 2d Brigade, Major J. Fordyce. No. 17 Light Field Batter, Captain M. Dawes. With the 2d Infantry division, commanded by Major-General Sir W. R. Gilbert, K.C.B.

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Inclosure 7 in No. 49.

Brigadier J. Cheape, Chief Engineer of the Army of the Punjab, to the Adjutant-General.

Head Quarters, Camp, Goojerat, February 26, 1849.

IN reference to general orders of the 21st instant, I beg to submit, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, a report on the conduct of the Engineer Department, during the late operations, and the engagement of the 21st.

Major Napier, attended by Lieutenant Greathed, and Major Tremenheere, attended by Lieutenant Glover, were employed on the 21st, the former with the right, the latter with the left column of attack, and were very useful from their previous examination of the ground, and, in particular, of the position of the nullah on our right flank.

Captain Western, Lieutenants Goodwyn, Crommelin, and Taylor accompanied me; and to all those officers my acknowledgments are due, for conveying communications, and obtaining information on every point required, during the day.

I have also the gratification to report to his Excellency the zealous and able manner in which Captain Cunningham, and Lieutenant C. Paton, performed the duty assigned to them, of bringing up the fleet of boats ordered by his Excellency from Ramnuggur, and placing them so as to enable the portion of the army, on the other side of the Chenab, to cooperate, and to come up; the former officer arrived before the close of the action, and joined Brigadier-General Campbell's division.

The other officers of engineers were detached with the different divisions of the army, and no mention of these officers is needed from me, as whatever service they may have had an opportunity of rendering, will be more appropriately reported to his Excellency, or acknowledged, by the general officers commanding each division.

Captain Siddons, commanding the sappers and pioneers, was attached to the heavy guns with a portion of his corps, the remainder being detached, by companies, to the different divisions; such duty as was required from them, I need hardly say, was effectively performed; and I trust it may not be considered by his Lordship, out of place, my mentioning here the gallant behaviour, and unwearied exertion, displayed by these men, throughout the present service. I allude, in particular, to the siege operations at Mooltan, and the conduct of that portion of the corps who were employed there.

Prior to the engagement on the 21st instant, the officers of engineers were employed in collecting information, and in surveying and reconnoitring; and it is due to Captain Longden, of Her Majesty's 10th Regiment, who is attached to the engineer department as surveyor and field engineer, to state the very able assistance he has rendered in all these duties, during the whole operations since I have joined the army.

I beg to add, that I am much indebted to Lieutenant J. H. Maxwell, for the very zealous performance of his duties, on all occasions, as Major of Brigade of Engineers; and to Lieutenant J. E. Cracroft, Brigade Quarter-Master, my acknowledgments are also due; and I hope I may be permitted to recommend to his Excellency's favor Lieutenant Hutchinson, of engineers, a very promising young officer, who has been lately acting as my aide-de-camp, and who was very severely wounded, on the 21st instant.

Inclosure 8 in No. 49.

Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, K.C.B., Commanding the Cavalry Division, to the Adjutant-General.

Head Quarters, Camp, Goojerat, February 25, 1849.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, the operations of the division of cavalry under my command, in the battle fought on the 21st instant, near the town of Goojerat.

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nature of the ground by nullahs would admit, and the 9th Lancers and 8th Light Cavalry made gallant attempts to close with the enemy's cavalry, which, however, were frustrated by the rapid retreat of the latter; yet a great number of the enemy were slain by this brigade in the pursuit. I witnessed the activity of Captain Unett, and part of his squadron of the 3d Light Dragoons; and Brigadier White mentions that the whole of that regiment was actively engaged in this work of retribution.

Being an eye-witness to all the movements of the 1st Brigade, I have great satisfaction in stating, that Brigadier White conducted them very much to my satisfaction. I am also well satisfied with the manner in which Lieutenant-Colonel Fullerton, Majors Yerbury and Mackenzie, commanded their respective regiments, and in which Major Grant supported the charge of cavalry on the left. The charge of the Sinde Horse reflects the highest credit on Captain Malcolm; and I have great pleasure in having witnessed the gallant bearing of all the officers and men of this brigade, during the operations of the day; and I feel sure that their only regret was that the enemy's cavalry so often declined the attack.

To Captains Duncan and Huish, and Majors Leeson and Blood, I am much indebted for the manner in which they brought their guns into action, whenever an opportunity occurred; and the steadiness and good conduct of both officers and men were very conspicuous.

I have now the pleasing duty to state, that I have received every assistance and support from my Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, Captain Pratt, on the present occasion, as well as during the campaign. To my Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, Lieutenant Tucker, I am greatly indebted for his zeal, activity, intelligence, and successful endeavours to procure intelligence of the movements of the enemy during the operations; he, as well as my Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Thackwell, Lieutenant Young, of the Engineers, Lieutenant Carter, of the Pioneers, and Cornet Beatson, of the 6th Light Cavalry, accompanied me during the battle, and afforded me essential service in carrying my orders, on various occasions, during the operations of the day.

Brigadier White states how greatly he was satisfied with the conduct of his Brigade Major, Captain Cautley, and the whole of the officers and men of his brigade.

As the operations of the 2d and 4th Brigades of Cavalry did not come under my observation, except towards the latter end of the pursuit, I have the honor to forward Brigadier Lockwood's report, and it would appear therefrom that he conducted his brigade judiciously; and I am gratified to learn that both officers and men behaved greatly to his satisfaction, and that the 14th Light Dragoons and 1st Light Cavalry conducted themselves gallantly, and evinced every anxiety to close with the enemy. I am happy to observe that the Brigadier has mentioned, with great approbation, the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonels Bradford and King, in command of their regiments, and I cannot avoid here stating, for the information of his Lordship, that I observed with much satisfaction the zeal and judgment evinced by both officers, when in command of considerable bodies of cavalry, detached from the camp at Chillianwalla, on important duties.

I regret that I have not yet received any report from Brigadier Hearsey, or return of casualties from his brigade, or the Sinde Horse; these will be forwarded when they arrive.

Inclosure 9 in No. 49.

Brigadier G. H. Lockwood, C.B., Commanding the 2nd Cavalry Division, to the Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, Cavalry Division, Army of the Punjab.

Camp, Goojerat, February 22, 1849.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, commanding the cavalry division, that, on the morning of the 21st, I formed my brigade, as directed by his Excellency the Commander-in-

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cavalry officer, in the field on that flank, I assumed command of the whole of that arm as detailed in the margin,* and a troop of horse artillery under Captain Warner. Soon after, the action commenced by a cannonade, and heavy bodies of horse, amongst them apparently a regular regiment, showed in our front. The cavalry, under my command, advanced towards them, and the troop of horse artillery was sent to the front, with its support (a squadron of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons, and a squadron of irregular horse), and opened a well-directed fire of round and shrapnell, which made the enemy fall back to a respectful distance. On this, very numerous bodies of horse went off to our right, apparently with the intention of turning that flank. I manœuvred to the right with the irregular brigade, and kept them in check. About this time I received orders from the Commander-in-Chief not to separate the left of the cavalry too far from the column of infantry advancing in that direction. I was, therefore, necessitated to close to the left, which I did with Brigadier Lockwood's Brigade. At the same time, as they again pressed on my right, I ordered three guns to support it, the fire from which made the enemy again draw off. I now observed it was their determination to turn the right, and as I had been joined by Colonel Doherty with two squadrons, I placed him to fill up the gap on my left, and order Brigadier Lockwood's brigade and three guns, to join the irregulars on that flank. This checked the enemy; but a very large body now advanced on the space on our left. I immediately opposed it with the Irregular Brigade, and Brigadier Lockwood's, with a half battery; and the enemy were again foiled; but they, perceiving I had only the artillery supports, and *ressalah* of horse, under the command of Lieutenant Robarts, on my extreme right, made a last effort to turn it.

This was promptly met by the 3rd and 9th Irregulars being sent in that direction, the 9th advancing to meet them with the half battery: thus foiled, they returned to our left, Major Christie following their movement. This was their last attempt. A troop of Horse Artillery, with supports of one squadron of 9th Irregulars, commanded by Lieutenant and Adjutant Tytler, pushed to the front, and got under the fire of their artillery, when several men and horses suffered from round shot. It was now apparent, from the distance of the sound of our guns, that the enemy were in retreat, and Major Mackeson informed me it was the Commander-in-Chief's wish that all the cavalry should pursue, and prevent the enemy carrying off their guns. I immediately directed Brigadier Lockwood's brigade to take a sweep to the right, and pushed on myself, with the 3rd Irregulars, and Lieutenant Robarts's *ressalah*, with Captain Warner's troop of Horse Artillery; the 9th Irregulars, and 11th, under Captain Master, following, as soon as they could get clear of a deep and quaggy nullah; and we perceived the enemy in full retreat, after a canter of four miles. The artillery opened upon the masses of men, whilst the cavalry advanced on the flank, and overtook them near the village of Runnewall, where a great many of the Bunnoo troops were sabred and shot. In this manner the pursuit continued, until a deep nullah prevented the Horse Artillery getting on without delay. Here I left them with two squadrons, and pushed on again, overtaking another body, and punishing them. I detached Captain Biddulph, with half a *ressalah*, to ascertain the cause of a heavy cloud of dust to our left. He reported it was Sir J. Thackwell's division, and I soon after heard his battery of horse artillery open. Both divisions of cavalry were now closing on the enemy, and Captain Biddulph was so fortunate as to capture five guns, and Major Christie another that had been left in a nullah, by the retreating foe. (Major Christie informs me that this gun would have been left behind, if he had not made great exertions in having it brought into camp; he disclaims the capture of it. J.B.H.) The pursuit continued to the village of Sainthul, where I met, and reported to, Sir J. Thackwell, and from whence we returned to camp. The distance the cavalry under my command went over, in pursuit, was fifteen miles. We did not get to the camp of the Irregulars, near the Barra Durree of Goojerat, until ten o'clock at night, and had thus been fifteen hours on horse-back.

I have every reason to be pleased with the conduct of all the officers under my command. Some difference arose as to carrying my orders into effect by

* Brigadier Lockwood's Brigade; Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons; 1st Light Cavalry; Captain Warner's Troop H. A.; Captain Fordyce's, at the end of the action: Irregular Brigade; 3rd Irregular Cavalry; 9th Irregular Cavalry; 11th Irregular Cavalry; 13th Irregular Cavalry, 1 Squadron.

When the means adopted for attaining an end are completely adequate to that end, we have a perfect equation and fullness of reality in every item and relation. We could then be said to be acting fully in conformity with the Infinite, and the deed itself is a *good* one (*ṛtam*). When, on the contrary, the means adopted for any end are not adequate to that end, we have no equation at all. There is contradiction, and consequently unreality, at the basis of our effort, and only absolute nothing to sustain it, since it is fundamentally in non-conformity with the Infinite. We have isolated ourselves from the Universe of the Infinite by way of metaphysical impossibility and attempted to set up a world of our own outside the sphere of the Infinite. The deed goes against the Eternal Law (*Rtam*) and is therefore a *bad* one (*an-ṛtam*); and, but for the mercy of God, we should have been destroyed for going against *the fundamental Law of our own being*. In *sin*, we attempt to build on what is outside the Infinite; *sin* is a fall (*pātakam*) because it erects itself on absolute nothing when defying God. The sinner perhaps does not always realise the seriousness of his evil deeds which draw their entity from the Infinite but not their malice. The sinner's malice when analysed is reduced to the absurd contradiction of the finite posing as the Infinite; and its futility is exposed when its basis is rigorously demonstrated to be absolute nothing.

The futility of escaping from the Infinite or of avoiding the Infinite is realised only by one for whom contradiction is synonymous with unreality. The net outcome of rebellion against the Infinite is, metaphysically

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Problems of freewill and divine prevision resolve themselves intelligibly. Since the distinction between Good and Evil is tantamount in principle to the distinction between the Infinite and absolute nothing, man has a choice given to him, worthy of his own highest aspirations and also worthy of God; for God, to be God, could, so to say, not have set any other choice before man other than the choice between the Godhead and absolute nothing. Man is *free* to choose between these two alternatives, *free* because man himself is limited. Man's "freedom of choice" is a direct consequence of his limitations. His "freedom" naturally comes into play, when man perceives finite as the Infinite but overlooked reality. The freedom of the individual subsequently follows from the recognition of the existence of the good and evil in reality. Man is not blind, he is not blind to the highest Good, he is not blind to himself, he is not blind to other than the eyes (he is not blind to his qualifications). He is not blind to the fact that he has attained to the highest Good, he is not blind to the fact that he has confirmed

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choice. Because of the absolute scope of the Infinite, the freedom of the creature is fully safeguarded and its destiny no less fully foreseen.

The mystery of predestination, therefore, does not intrigue the Hindu very much, because he knows that he himself is really the architect of his own fortune. From the point of view of the Infinite, we must remember that any choice that is made by a creature is, in true analysis, really a choice between the Infinite and absolute nothing. In other words, in stark reality every choice draws its metaphysical strength and entity from the Infinite, for the creature of itself can produce absolutely nothing even when "doing good". Consequently, from this particular angle, the reality of every act will be seen to be determined ultimately by the Infinite, strictly according to divine permission and providence, leaving however even here perfect freedom of choice in a relative sense at the disposal of creatures.

ADVAITA (*Transcendence*)

Let us now consider the celebrated problem of defining the relation of the finite to the Infinite in the light of Hindu ideas about the Infinite. In this matter the term "*advaita*" is employed to convey the absolute transcendence of the Infinite and of all relations to It. "*Advaita*" literally means "*not-two-ness*" (Sanskrit: *a-dvai-ta* = Latin: *non-duali-tas*); but this by itself would hardly convey any meaning to a Western reader. We do not know of any single term corresponding satisfactorily to *advaita* in the European languages; leaving aside "*absolute-uniqueness*" the nearest equivalent in our

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common with monism, whether "spiritual" or "material"; or, in fact, with any kind of limitation or specification however elementary. What is absolutely transcendent surpasses the confines of all limitations, even the most primary like that of unity unless understood analogically. Moreover, "being" which is accepted as absolutely transcending all categories and limitations in the West (with analogical reservations for the Infinite "Being") is rigorously circumscribed in the schools of the East to *being as such* (*ens qua tale*) and is therefore inadmissible, as a term applicable to the Infinite, except analogically (Râmânuja).

Apart from the regular arguments of the Asiatic divines, we might adduce one or two considerations from Hindu sources which might awaken some interest in the West. For example, "silence" is accepted as a reality by all, because it does not imply contradiction and therefore cannot be identified with absolute nothing. Yet "silence", which is indeed one of the most profound realities, serving as a symbol for meditating on God Himself as the *Unutterable* Reality of all realities, is clearly not "being". "Being" is the principle of manifestation, but silence is not the principle of any manifestation. Like "being", "silence" is a non-manifest reality, but in no wise to be confused with "being". The reality of "being" is therefore limited by the reality of "silence", both having to be sustained in reality by a principle higher than either "being" or "silence", i. e., by a principle which is itself neither "being" nor "silence" but something transcending the limitations of "being" and of "silence".

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Hindu teacher keeps the various meanings distinct, though it happens that both "not-being" in the sense just defined and "non-being" in the sense above indicated could be expressed by the same Sanskrit word, namely, *a-sat*. This is very confusing to outside students, who disdain the guidance of the Hindu interpreter and rely on "etymologies" for the meaning of traditional texts!⁵⁶ To those, however, who have been initiated into the Hindu tradition the traditional texts are perfectly intelligible as no interpretation is admitted which does not confirm the fundamentals of the traditional orthodox doctrine. The texts of the Upanisads or, clearer still, the text of *Bhagavad Gītā*, XIII, 12 quoted above, where *sat* and *asat* occur in juxta-position, may be taken to test our statement. It will be found that the orthodoxy of the doctrine about the Infinite-Reality (*Brahma*) remains unimpaired, whether we translate *asat* by "not-being", meaning the category which excludes "being", or by "non-being" meaning what is identical with "absolute nothing". Both interpretations would be admitted in orthodox Hindu circles, because they do not contradict the fundamentals of the orthodox doctrine. This is a point which has often been missed by Western scholars, who look upon the various schools of Vedāntic interpretations as so many "sects" into which Hinduism is represented as divided.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ We do not intend to deny the danger that "traditional" interpretations may try to read into *ancient* texts, meanings and ideas in the light of *later* philosophical developments; the commentaries of the great schools are full of such cases, often mutually contradictory in the eyes of "modern" critics.

⁵⁷ They might be called "sects", perhaps in the sense in which Protestant "sects" are loosely divided while standing on the common foundation of the Bible and Christ.

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adviata, the most appropriate and correct predication of the Infinite Itself is that the Infinite is “*Not-Two*” (*a-dvayam*).

The cognate term *a-dvayam* (=Not-Two) is basic to the term *advaitam* and stresses the “*Uniqueness*” of the Infinite in *absolute transcendence* beyond all categories and all limitations, while, at the same time, leaving full scope for expressing the transcendental aspects of the Godhead without divorcing them from the Godhead’s fundamentally transcendental Uniqueness. Beyond this point, words fail to convey more than a symbolical meaning and serve merely as supports for meditation on the Ineffable Mystery (*Rahasyam*) of the Infinite.

It will be seen that all names and forms are inadequate and suffer from limitation in one respect or the other. Some Hindus therefore prefer to use the word “*Being*”, making sure beforehand that the context allows no misconstruction of meaning by confusion “*Being*” with “*being*” in the senses clarified above. Others prefer “*Not-Being*” as less liable to error and as the most refined expression that might be analogically applied to the Infinite. Consequently the traditional texts will be found by an orthodox Hindu (for whom they are revealed “*śruti*”) to allow both these means of expression as orthodox avenues of approach : e. g. *Chândogya Upaniṣad* III, 19, 1 which to some Western scholars seems to contradict *Chândogya Upaniṣad* VI. 3, 1. The Hindus themselves are unaffected by textual criticism of this kind.

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philosophical heritage and attained to the "Supreme-Identity-of-Cognition" (*Kaivalyam*), which is the goal of man's quest of the Infinite. In this connection, we beg leave of our readers to introduce some significant verses which have found keen appreciation among eminent Hindus who look forward to an understanding between the East and the West. In his "Testament of Beauty," Robert Bridges relates a well-known fact from the mystical experience of St. Thomas Aquinas, which stirs a responsive chord in Hindu hearts :-

I am happier in surmising that his vision at Mass in Naples it was when he fell suddenly in trance was some disenthralment of his humanity : for thereafter, whether 'twere Aristotle or Christ that had appear'd to him then, he never more wrote word neither dictated but laid by inkhorn and pen: and was as a man out of hearing on that day when Reynaldus, with all the importunity of zeal and intimacy of friendship, would have recall'd him to his incompleted *Summa* ; and sighing he reply'd " I will tell thee a secret, my son, constraining thee, lest thou dare impart it to any man while I live. My writing is at end, I have seen such things reveal'd that what I have written and taught seemeth to me of small worth. And hence I hope in my God that, as of doctrine, there will be speedily also an end of life ! " (*sic*)

In short if I may embody in a sentence my personal conviction about the value of metaphysics as it is

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that we possess what in India has been recognised as the "Supreme-Identity-of-Cognition" (*Kaivalyam*,)⁶ raising us, by God's grace, to participate (through a Divine love-union) in full measure and ideal in His Infinite and Undivided Being-Knowledge-Bliss in transcendence absolute (*Akhaṇḍa-Saccidanandamadvayam*).

In modern times, orthodoxy has too often ignored the metaphysical implications and depth of its own position. Etymologically, orthodoxy is concerned with what is *coherently* "right doctrine". Research workers in India function in isolation and amateur propagandists of Indian Culture and Philosophy disseminate mistaken notions. If we have found that Vedic and Christian sources illumine each other, the result is entirely due to an impartial study in the light of the Infinite. If in the nineteenth century, the "Discovery of Sanskrit" gave scientific precision to comparative Philology it is possible that a competent knowledge of the metaphysics of Hinduism should be considered indispensable for a scientific study of comparative Religion and Philosophy in the centuries that lie ahead of us. Personally it has been the discovery of Hindu metaphysics more than anything else that has deepened my appreciation of the *credibility* as distinguished from the *credendity* of my own religious tradition.

⁶ In Buddhist tradition, the Bodhisatta finally obtains the full Enlightenment or "Awakening" (*sammā-sambodhi*) that he had been seeking and so becomes identified cognitively with the Eternal Law (*Dhamma*). The explicit synonyms used to describe this state of existence, which is accepted as *Nirvāṇa* also in Hindu tradition (*Bhagavad Gītā* VI, 15), are "*Dhamma-bhūta*" and "*Brahma-bhūta*" and therefore, particularly noteworthy, i.e. "*become-Dhamma*" and "*become-Brahma*".

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Tas'iruf ⁵². Two thousand years earlier, Ashoka had proclaimed the mutual consistency of vigilant Buddhism and enlightened Brahmanism, and thereby brought lustre to the Hindu tradition.⁵³

It is because of her metaphysics of the true Infinite that India has been able to assimilate the most alien cultural trends and incorporate them into the living body of her great Synthesis of Indian Culture ⁵⁴. The spirit of Mother India lives in those of her children who have learnt to treasure the divine meaning of the Infinite. It is this meaning in all its profundity that is ^{the} spiritual jewel ("mani") of Hinduism⁵⁵, the precious "Jawhar" of Islam⁵⁶, and the Christian "pearl of great price"⁵⁷.

⁵² *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī* translated by Rogers and Beveridge. I. p. 356, *apud* Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *A New Approach to the Vedas. An Essay in Translation and Exegesis*. London, 1933, p. 77.

⁵³ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 45.
⁵⁴ "The more superficially one studies Buddhism, the more it seems to differ from the Brahmanism in which it originated; the more profound our study, the more difficult it becomes to distinguish Buddhism from Brahmanism, or to say in what respects, if any, Buddhism is really unorthodox".

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⁵⁶ *Bhagavad Gītā* VII, 7. The most precious of the jewels upheld by the divine-string (*sutrātmā*) is the *Cintā-maṇi*, the crest-jewel of discrimination in man. The Buddhist formula: *Om maṇi padme hum* also refers to the "Jewel of the Infinite in the lotus of the heart" as the most precious possession of the Buddhist.

⁵⁷ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *Time and Eternity*. Ascona (Switzerland), 1947, p. 94. (*Artibus Asiae supplementum octavum*). It should be noted that the personal name of India's dearest son today is itself symbolic of the assimilative genius of Hindu Culture: *Jawahar-lal Nehru* in his *Discovery of India*, 1946, recognises his own features, and is to us Mother India's *Jawahar* incarnate.

⁵⁸ St. Matthew: XIII 45-46.

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Tasânuuf ⁶². Two thousand years earlier, Ashoka had proclaimed the mutual consistency of vigilant Buddhism and enlightened Brahmanism, and thereby brought lustre to the Hindu tradition.⁶³

It is because of her metaphysics of the true Infinite that India has been able to assimilate the most alien cultural trends and incorporate them into the living body of her great Synthesis of Indian Culture ⁶⁴. The spirit of Mother India lives in those of her children who have learnt to treasure the divine meaning of the Infinite. It is this meaning in all its profundity that is ^{the} spiritual jewel ("mani") of Hinduism ⁶⁵, the precious "Jauhar" of Islam ⁶⁶, and the Christian "pearl of great price",

⁶² *Tuzuk-i-Jahângîrî* translated by Rogers and Beveridge, I. p. 356 apud Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *A New Approach to the Vedas. An Essay in Translation and Exegesis*. London, 1933, p. 77.

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paramârtha), which makes us share in the Divine Nature (II Peter, 1, 4). If we would know the secret of the divine mysteries, we must foregather like docile pupils (*śiṣyas*) around the feet of the Divine Teacher (*Guru*), who is essentially supra-personal and yet speaks through a Person. His professed disciples are necessarily learners (cf. *Sikhs* = learners) in the best sense; state name for the Divine Teacher is a name agreed upon by all the religious traditions of the world, namely, Truth (cf. *Sat-Nam* = the Name Truth)⁶⁹ Being essentially timeless (*A-kāl*), the Teacher is Himself interested only in truths and is Himself the model of truths eternal⁷⁰. To capture His likeness in line and figure, the Hindu painter strives to pierce the veils of the physical world with the purpose of effectively reaching the metaphysical verities, which are more real and have to do more directly with matters of divine importance. The Hindu sculptor does not spend his energies in moulding human figures out of clay or out of the living rock at Elephanta or Ellora, but divine symbols which have a divine importance and a permanent interest. Hindu music and dramaturgy cannot but direct the musician or the actor to "lose his soul" if he would save it in a divine sublimation of self-effacing communion with the Divine Spirit of all music and drama, worth the name. When the Hindu master-builder endeavours to imitate the Divine Architect of all things (*Viśva-karmaś*), he is instructed to edify (first in his own body) a worthy temple to God by a spiritual purification

⁶⁹ Max Arthur Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion*, 6 Vols., Oxford, 1909. Vol. I, p. 138; Vol. V, p. 261.

⁷⁰ *St. John*: XVIII, 37.

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catholicity of his spiritual culture. Yogic discipline cannot be divorced from the universal, eternal law (*Rta*), sustaining all harmonious functioning, or be in any way dissociated from the natural law (*dharma*), participated from the eternal Law in the ascetic's own constitution. The Indian seer has to be sensitive to the still, sad music of humanity, while continuing to be in tune with the music of the spheres. The technique of disinterested service taken for granted in the truly religious man is defined cryptically in the Bhagavad Gītā as "a mastery over every situation and problem of practical life": *Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam* (II,50). This kind of Yogi does not need to advertise and is, as a rule, known to no one but himself. The Vital and personal communion between such a Yogi and the Supreme Source of all reality constitutes the mystical secret of Yoga.

The foundations of Indian Culture lie in the realm of the spirit, beyond names and forms. Nothing confined to what is purely human or suspect of human limitations can reach the depth of that foundation or disturb the profound serenity of that communion. The roots of religious culture in India lie beyond the ken of the superficial observer who knows not what Indian Culture can be in its metaphysical principles. The metaphysical lore of the human race would seem to be gathered up in the heart of Asia, pulsating in India, where it has become the heritage of the common man. The central idea of that religious culture is that every creature is a *temple of God* and that in man specially—because of his intellectual endowments which enable him to know his relation to his Creator—we have *the most significant sanctuary of God's*

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expound the metaphysical doctrine known familiarly in India as *advaita*. Such uncritical equations are culturally dangerous in the extreme, because they detach the Eastern student from his own traditional moorings and set him adrift on the high seas of modern sceptical modes of thought with promises of great adventure but a fulfilment ending in complete frustration. "Monism" has to do with what is "absolutely one"; *advaita*, on the other hand, has to do with what is "absolutely Not-Two". This is not a mere play on words. The metaphysical implications are far reaching and set the monist and advaitist points of view really poles apart, though they may seem at first sight to boil down to the same thing. In monism, the finite has reality *on a par* with the Infinite, and is to be distinguished from the Infinite only as any *measurable* part of the physical universe is quantitatively smaller than the whole universe. There is perfect *commensurability* between the finite and the Infinite in monism, since the finite is rigorously a measurable part of the Infinite. Moreover the finite merely *appears* to be distinct from the Infinite in monism; the finite is in monism absolutely identical with the Infinite, in all real senses and under all real respects. It is left unexplained how, when the finite (which is regarded rigorously as a measurable part of the whole Infinite) can be strictly measured and is, in fact, proposed as commensurable with the Infinite, the "Infinite" itself is not by this very fact as strictly measurable and therefore as really limited as the finite.

In *advaita*, the finite has its real entity, wholly and absolutely *dependent* on the Supreme Reality of the

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cular "religions". The modern mind is encouraged by our educational methods and practices to label whatever is beyond its comprehension with an "ism" and thus persuade itself that its classification has a basis in reality. Since the sixteenth century, "Hinduism", for instance, is supposed to be bound up not with the Universal Truth as it actually is, but with one particular country, India, one particular language, Sanskrit, and one particular race, the Indo-Aryan race. Similarly, Buddhism and Jainism are associated with the Kshatriya "race" and with the Pali and Ardha-Magadhi languages respectively. Zoroastrianism is supposed to make its appeal only to the ancient Iranians and to be intelligible only in Avesta and Zand. Islam is described as the "religion" of the Arabs and only understandable in Arabic. Judaism is similarly the "religion" of the Jew and inseparable from Hebrew. Roman Catholicism must be the "religion" of the Romans and therefore best presented in Latin. English Protestantism is the "religion" of the English "race" and naturally finds its expression in English; and so on and so forth. All these *false* associations are the result of our inability to distinguish particular verbal formulations from the universal truth or error, conveyed by certain words. It hardly ever occurs to us that any truth, like any scientific reality, can be expressed in any language, provided that language is developed enough and capable enough of universal expression. If a scientist can be perfectly indifferent to the particular language in which his scientific data or facts are couched, why cannot the seeker after Truth be at least as indifferent to the words or formulations in which the universal truth is conceived provided its essential meaning is acceptable?

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running through all of them, down to the minutest details of construction. That pattern we have overlooked; it is that pattern that is culturally and linguistically important for the religious unity and cultural solidarity of India. Even Sanskrit is distinguishable from other Indo-European languages by its peculiar Indian *pattern*. The words are in the main Indo-European no doubt, but the phraseology as well as syntactical structure are fundamentally Dravidian. The common linguistic pattern becomes still more evident when we examine how words are put together in sentences in the representative languages of the North and South. The Hindi Prachâr Sabhâ of South India has proved that Hindi, translated word for word into any of the South Indian languages, gives in every case perfectly idiomatic sentences in those languages. The truth seems to be that the original speech of all India was predominantly Dravidian. Later there was a heavy intake of "Aryan" words but the constructions continued to remain Dravidian. The Aryan words were linguistically absorbed in the same manner as the new races which poured into India have all been culturally absorbed, (and are gradually being ethnologically also moulded to a common Indian type). Recently the myth of racial superiority was scientifically exploded by a Commission appointed by UNESCO (Cf. Acts 17, 26).

Accordingly, without hurting anybody's religious susceptibilities, we can have in the cultivation of a *comparative study of religious traditions* (and of all that they imply) not only a means of clarifying our understanding

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present supplying us with the waters of life and simultaneously not infrequently poisoning the wells of our cultural, religious and national existence.

The *Vedānta* preserved in Hindu India is known to have its exact parallel in the *Tawhīd* of the Islamic world, and both could be demonstrated to possess their best interpretation and perfect confirmation in the Divine Revelation of Jesus Christ, whom all the religious traditions of the world find claim for their exemplar and fulfilment. If the study of the various religious traditions of mankind bears its proper fruit, it is our personal persuasion that it must lead the research student inevitably to discover in Jesus Christ not only the Divine Saviour of Christian tradition but the *Adām Qāsim* of the Hebrew tradition, the *Inshā' al-E'zīz* of Islamic tradition, the *Naqshaband* of Zoroastrian tradition, the *Mahāvīr* of Buddhist tradition, the *Kṛtā* and *Satyamev Jayate* of Hindu tradition, or the *Wang* (King of the World) and "Son of Heaven" of the Confucian and Taoist traditions.

The *Vedānta* as understood by the Christian Indian enables him to regard not only himself as the living temple of God (St. Paul: I Cor. 3. 16), but requires him to look upon his neighbour equally with the same mystical regard. The great phrase of the *Upanishad*, *Atmā Brahman*, has necessarily to be completed by the other great expression *Tat tvam asi*. If the first phrase sums up our duty towards our Self, the complementary

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“Great Peace” (*Es-Sakinah*) of Muslim tradition or the *Par Profunda* (Profound Peace) of Christian tradition and both find their immediate source in the Hebrew tradition according to which *Shekinah* denotes the “real presence” of the Godhead, actually and symbolically in the temple at Jerusalem but actually no less and indeed vitality in the heart of every man. It is the “Light of Glory” in and through which, according to Christian theology, the “beatific vision” is achieved, (Cf. *Apocalypse XXI, 23*).

Om—Tat—Sat

Sāntih—Sāntih—Sāntih

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Sāntil.—Sāntil.—Sāntih

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